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# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6643**rd meeting

Monday, 31 October 2011, 10 a.m.

New York

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| *President*: | Mrs. Ogwu | (Nigeria) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Wang Min |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Ahamed |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Pankin |
| | South Africa | Mr. Mashabane |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Ms. Hendrie |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

Post-conflict peacebuilding

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*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Post-conflict peacebuilding**

**The President**: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Her Excellency Ms. Sylvie Lucas, Chairperson of the peacebuilding configuration for Guinea and Permanent Representative of Luxembourg, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins.

**Ms. Cheng-Hopkins**: Today I have the honour to update the Council on behalf of the Secretary-General on two peacebuilding agendas for action that stem from, first, the 2009 report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (S/2009/304) and last year's progress report (S/2010/386*), and secondly, the 2010 report on women's participation in peacebuilding (S/2010/466). As requested by this Council last year, I am providing an oral briefing today, but next year we will prepare a written report.

Before I begin, I would like to pay tribute to this year's Nobel Peace Prize laureates — President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Gbowee of Liberia and Tawakkul Karman of Yemen. We draw inspiration from them and echo the Nobel Committee's recognition of their "non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peacebuilding work".

It is two years since the report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict was issued. The Council will recall that the report's agenda aims to improve the United Nations system's support to national peacebuilding efforts in the critical first two years following the end of the main conflict and that it was developed with the understanding that a coordinated United Nations approach to peacebuilding is required, given the multitude of actors who play a role in those efforts.

Let me start with the areas where progress has been made, beginning with our efforts to create more cohesive United Nations senior leadership teams and to respond more rapidly to leadership gaps.

First, a collaborative approach is now in place that supports the eventual selection of complementary leadership teams. Secondly, since 2009 more than 20 senior United Nations officials have been quickly dispatched to the field as temporary senior leaders in the immediate post-conflict period. Such arrangements have become standard practice for the Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and they help to minimize the loss of strategic momentum during critical periods.

The seamless leadership model used in Libya is also an example of good practice. The senior official leading the pre-assessment phase was subsequently appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General. That approach allowed Special Representative Martin to hit the ground running and to initiate the mission planning process, as he was already deeply familiar with the issues and the national actors on the ground.

However, there are also extremely challenging crisis response and peacebuilding needs in countries that do not benefit from a Security Council-mandated mission. Relatively calm countries that suddenly become volatile require the same sense of urgency and attention, and sometimes circumstances will require a quick adjustment to the United Nations leadership.

The 2009 report also emphasized the need to strengthen support for capacity development from the outset. That will be reflected in the upcoming review of the integrated mission planning guidelines in 2012, which will contain guidance on how to ensure that national perspectives and capacities are taken into account from the outset of each planning process.

We can also report progress in galvanizing the United Nations system and Member States around the common goal of improved civilian expertise in peacebuilding operations. Under-Secretary-General Susana Malcorra has been leading and chairing a steering committee that oversees the system-wide follow-up to the independent 2011 civilian capacity report (see S/2011/85). The Secretary-General has

prioritized its recommendations, focusing on national capacity, partnerships, accountability and agility. One of the most urgent priorities is to explore modalities to broaden the scope for deploying personnel provided by Governments and other entities, particularly those from the global South, so that specialized expertise can more easily be made available to United Nations field presences in key gap areas.

We are also continuing our internal efforts to clarify roles and responsibilities within the United Nations system for core peacebuilding functions. Since 2009, the Secretary-General's Policy Committee has completed six reviews on the following areas: first, the reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons; secondly, security sector reform; thirdly, demobilization, disarmament and reintegration; fourthly, mine action; fifthly, mediation; and sixthly, electoral assistance.

The reviews have addressed some key challenges, exposed others and set a forward agenda for additional work. They have also revealed that the constructive and consistent engagement of Member States, including on how they mandate and fund us, is a sine qua non for effective delivery in the field.

Regarding partnership with the World Bank, its World Development Report 2011 on conflict, security and development has created a new impetus for collaboration. We are truly hopeful that the Bank's new fragile-States hub in Nairobi will link up more effectively with United Nations peacebuilding efforts in the field, including in the countries on the agenda of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC).

The Secretary-General's 2010 progress report (S/2010/386*) stressed the importance of two emerging peacebuilding issues: first, organized crime and drug trafficking, and secondly, natural resource management.

Natural resources in fragile States are often powerful drivers of conflict, not, unfortunately, of peace, prosperity, growth and job creation. In that respect, let me mention that, as part of the Stakeholders Event of the Peacebuilding Fund on 22 November, my office will host a round-table discussion with private sector representatives from the mining and minerals sector, post-conflict Government representatives, non-governmental organization activists and other experts on ways to support the use of natural resources for economic recovery in post-conflict countries. I am pleased to announce that Ms. Clare Lockhart — who, with Mr. Ashraf Ghani, co-authored *Fixing Failed States* — has agreed to provide the keynote address.

The other new issue on the agenda is drug trafficking and organized crime. This issue has risen to the peacebuilding agenda, as it undermines peacebuilding efforts and poses a direct threat to security and stability. The Council's recent discussions on Afghanistan, Somalia and West Africa reflect that alarming trend.

Earlier this year, the Secretary-General established a task force on transnational organized crime to bring the United Nations system's capacities together around that common concern. The West Africa Coast Initiative — WASI — is one positive example of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Department of Political Affairs working together to support the Economic Community of West African States and the efforts of national Governments in the region.

The report on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict also reinforced the importance of innovative approaches to funding for peacebuilding. In that regard, I am pleased that countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are finalizing new guidelines for transition financing. In addition, the upcoming High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, Republic of Korea, will discuss the usefulness of transition compacts as accountability tools among donors, conflict-affected States and the United Nations.

The Peacebuilding Fund continues to demonstrate value-added, especially in responding very quickly to peacebuilding opportunities as they arise, with recent allocations to Kyrgyzstan, Côte d'Ivoire, the Sudan and South Sudan.

I should like to say a word about the Peacebuilding Commission. The very timely and relevant review of the peacebuilding architecture last year has generated significant momentum that has reinvigorated the PBC's working methods and focused it on improving impact in the field. Work is also progressing in developing benchmarks or indicators for countries, when the time is right, to transition out of the PBC agenda.

I will now turn to the Secretary-General's September 2010 report on women's participation in peacebuilding (S/2010/466). I wish to highlight that the almost perfect working relationship between the Peacebuilding Support Office and UN-Women has made the preparation of this update almost effortless, as are all our other joint endeavours. As will be recalled, the rationale behind this agenda is to ensure that women are central to peacebuilding — not merely to secure women's rights, but because it is good peacebuilding practice. Quite simply, ignoring the role of women exposes us to a greater chance of failure. This agenda focuses on seven critical areas that, if implemented, would ensure that women have the opportunity to play a crucial role in making peace sustainable.

The first area of progress is in mediation and political dialogue; gender expertise is provided more systematically to ongoing conflict resolution processes and through the inclusion of specialized gender expertise in mediation rosters.

Secondly, I am pleased to report that there is broad agreement among the United Nations, the European Union and the World Bank on the importance of integrating gender into post-conflict needs assessments.

The third area of progress is in the rule of law. Examples include the provision of legal support and referral services to women in Burundi, the Central African Republic, Iraq and Somalia, and mobile court systems to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. With regard to sexual and gender-based violence, special courts have been established in Liberia and specialized expertise provided to commissions of inquiry in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya, while training to prevent and investigate sexual and gender-based crimes is being rolled out in Member States and in United Nations missions.

The PBF-funded, United Nations Development Programme-implemented project in Sierra Leone, supporting the All Political Parties Women's Association in order to increase solidarity among women across party lines and to encourage political coalitions around issues of interest to women is impressive and progressive. Unfortunately, initiatives such as these are still rare. The United Nations electoral technical assistance includes a focus on assessing the potential application of temporary special measures or quotas for women in public office, and more will be done to improve women's representation.

I will now turn to areas where change needs to be accelerated. First, we need to do better in comprehensively engaging and targeting women in economic recovery efforts. We also need more women mediators in peace processes, including from the United Nations, which did not appoint any women special envoys or chief mediators last year.

Last but not least is our common commitment to allocating 15 per cent of United Nations-managed peacebuilding funds to projects that further gender equality and women's empowerment as their principal objective. The Peacebuilding Fund is doing its part to catalyse more innovative approaches, and recently launched a $5-million gender promotion initiative.

Let me reiterate that these two agendas for action in peacebuilding initiatives were devised as tools to improve our combined support to nationally led efforts. The agenda for peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict is having a promising impact on the ground. Of course, we cannot compare the United Nations to the private sector, but surely many of these initiatives are increasing our effectiveness and creating a more businesslike approach.

History demonstrates that peacebuilding takes at least a generation to become sustainable. With these new tools and a culture shift in place, we may be able to help post-conflict countries beat the odds.

**The President**: I thank Ms. Cheng-Hopkins for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Ms. Lucas.

**Ms. Lucas**: I have the honour of addressing the Council on behalf of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC).

In its previous considerations of the Secretary-General's reports on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (S/2009/304) and women's participation in peacebuilding (S/2010/466), the Security Council sought the continued engagement of the Peacebuilding Commission as the Secretary-General embarked on the implementation of the recommendations contained in both reports. At the same time, the reports anticipated the completion of the 2010 review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture, which generated a number of important

recommendations aimed at further strengthening the Commission's role in and impact on the evolving United Nations peacebuilding agenda. The Council welcomed the review and encouraged the implementation of relevant recommendations.

In response, the PBC adopted an action oriented road map for actions, focusing on reinforcing the Commission's impact in the field. Therefore and with an expanded agenda of six countries and its ongoing efforts to adapt its tools of engagement with the countries on its agenda, the PBC is increasingly becoming a central political platform to promote a shared and coherent United Nations peacebuilding agenda.

From the Commission's particular experience of concrete peacebuilding work on the ground, I would like to highlight how the PBC's activities are complementary to the Security Council's work and how the Council can benefit from the Commission's experience and advice to the countries under its consideration and beyond.

Being a creation of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and with some of its members designated by the Economic and Social Council, the PBC has a unique convening power that allows it to bring together interested and committed Member States, as well as competent and relevant actors from inside and outside the United Nations system. In the years since its inception, the PBC has been able to help build a knowledge base in matters of post-conflict peacebuilding, including on issues of interest to the Security Council, whether regarding the link between peacebuilding and peacekeeping, the preparation of elections in the countries on its agenda, or concerning issues of regional relevance such as the fight against organized crime and drugs in West Africa.

In this regard, the country-specific configurations for Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone organized a joint meeting this June, together with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, to deepen their knowledge of the problem and seek common solutions to a problem affecting all four countries. The PBC, especially through its country configurations in collaboration with the Working Group on Lessons Learned, stands ready to present more regular reports documenting its findings to the Council and to deepen discussions with the Council on issues on the Council's agenda, such as resolutions or statements regarding the PBC agenda countries that have a significant impact on the situation on the ground. Another way to deepen the relationship is to have the country-specific configuration Chairs participate in the Security Council Working Groups when they deal with the country concerned, such as the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict.

The PBC is developing a body of experience with United Nations engagement in a range of settings with a variety of field presences, from full-fledged peacekeeping missions, such as in Liberia, to integrated peacebuilding offices, such as in Sierra Leone or the Central African Republic, to Resident Coordinator-led United Nations presence, such as in Guinea. That engagement, and the lessons learned from it, could be used to enhance policy processes that are also of direct interest to the Council.

In addition to the follow-up of the 2009 report by the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict , a similar reporting structure could also be applied to the civilian capacity review, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) early peacebuilding strategy or the follow-up to the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report. The Chair of the Central African Republic configuration has written to Under-Secretary-General Malcorra, suggesting that she take the Central African Republic and other PBC agenda countries as pilot countries for the civilian capacity review.

The PBC can help to provide an integrated and holistic perspective for taking into account the interdependence between security and development, as well as the social and economic situation on the ground in the countries on its agenda. It has the mandate and the composition to address development issues in a country in transition, in particular when a peacekeeping mission withdraws. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding, as has often been affirmed in this Chamber, and as is reaffirmed in the new DPKO and PBSO early peacebuilding strategy, should not be seen as sequential activities. Peacebuilding activities are essential to establishing the basis for sustainable peace and should start at the earliest stages of United Nations engagement, regardless of the form of the United Nations presence.

Country-specific configurations are capable of providing continued political attention to situations not

constantly on the Council's agenda. In the case of Sierra Leone, the PBC played a supporting role with respect to monitoring the aftermath of the March 2009 violence and will be called upon again over the course of the coming year as the elections process moves forward. That is being done in a spirit of partnership, national ownership and mutual accountability for results, which permits the establishment of a relationship going beyond what the Council, with its very busy agenda, is able to sustain.

By bridging the different points of the continuum between conflict, early recovery, transition and development, the PBC country-specific configurations can play an essential role for strategic coordination. With its mandate from the General Assembly and the Security Council, and given its composition and tools, the PBC can encourage and pursue coherence and coordination among the various actors of the United Nations system as well as bilateral actors, including on the ground, and improve relations between Headquarters and the field, all the while respecting the sovereignty and ownership of the process by the country concerned.

In Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic, known as "aid orphans", the work of the PBC country-specific configuration has helped to increase the number of partners engaged with the country, both in terms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, for example, have developed a stronger cooperation with Guinea-Bissau, especially with regard to security sector reform and issues that require a regional approach, such as drug-trafficking.

In the case of the Central African Republic, the World Bank, the African Union, the Economic Community of Central African States and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community have deepened their cooperation with the Central African Republic. African countries have also stepped up their bilateral cooperation with Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic.

In Sierra Leone, the PBC has explicitly aligned its work on the second Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the "Agenda for Change". In Burundi, the PBC facilitated the timely support to the national authorities in the second PRSP process by providing an expert in order to ensure that strategic planning was done in a more conflict-sensitive manner.

In addition to more coherence and harmonization, the country-specific configurations are also playing an increasingly important role in terms of resource mobilization. The Central African Republic configuration managed to mobilize resources for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and for the elections. It organized a high-level event in the margins of the 2010 Summit on the Millennium Development Goals with the World Bank and a round table in Brussels with the Central African Republic Government and support from the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and the African Development Bank to raise awareness for the priorities in the draft second PRSP.

In the case of Guinea-Bissau, the country-specific configuration has been providing enhanced support to the country in its efforts to address major economic imbalances, as well as advocacy for the recognition that Guinea-Bissau had reached the completion point of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. The World Bank, the African Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund have all taken steps to increase resources in key sectors. As the Chair of the Guinea configuration, I am working with partners on solutions to fund the retirement of some 4,000 military personnel from the Guinean army to kick-start the security sector reform that is a crucial element of Guinea's peacebuilding agenda.

However, we have to recognize that we need to do more in terms of mobilization of partners and resources to increase the relevance of the PBC for the countries on its agenda. Efforts are being undertaken through the working group on lessons learned to pursue more effective resource mobilization and to improve coordination among various actors in order to achieve a more efficient engagement of the PBC.

As mentioned earlier, the PBC has started to build partnerships with regional and subregional bodies, most notably the African regional economic communities, ECOWAS in the context of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the East African Community in the context of Burundi, and the Economic Community of Central African States and the Central African Economic and Monetary Community in the context of the Central African Republic. The same applies to the international

financial institutions, like the African Development Bank, which we as the PBC Chairs Group will visit in Tunis at the beginning of November. We are happy to share the results of our consultations with those bodies with the Security Council and to contribute to deepening and strengthening the partnerships between the Council and those increasingly important regional actors.

Finally, the PBC has a clear role in bringing about the conditions that allow for the withdrawal of peacekeeping missions, as well as the graduation of countries off the PBC agenda. In new contexts, like Guinea, the PBC's work to accompany the process of consolidating peace and democracy is also a way to help the country to stay out of conflict and thus off the Security Council's agenda and to contribute more broadly to the stabilization of the subregion. In the context of Siena Leone, the PBC will have an important role to play in ensuring that the United Nations long and costly investment in the country is not subject to unnecessary political and financial shocks when the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone withdraws and the United Nations moves to a Resident Coordinator-led presence focusing on development.

As foreseen by the founding resolution 1645 (2005), the Security Council

> "recommends that the Commission terminate its consideration of a country-specific situation when foundations for sustainable peace and development are established or upon the request by national authorities of the country under consideration". (*resolution 1645 (2005), para. 22*)

In the context of Burundi, first discussions have begun on a further change in approach of the PBC engagement and on a path towards leaving the PBC agenda, although several members of the configuration think that would be premature. The upcoming visit of the Chair of the country configuration to Burundi will provide an opportunity to further pursue those discussions.

**The President**: I thank Ms. Lucas for her briefing.

**Mr. Barbalić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I would like to thank Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, for her comprehensive briefing on the overall peacebuilding agenda. I also thank Ms. Sylvie Lucas, Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission configuration for Guinea, for her remarks.

We have emphasized many times that clear mandates, strategic planning, coherent implementation and timely and predictable funding are critical elements of peacebuilding. The thematic debate organized during our presidency of the Security Council in January (see S/PV.6472) highlighted the importance of national ownership and institution-building for peacebuilding efforts and ensuring sustainable peace.

Building domestic capacities and strengthening domestic institutions are both included in the recommendations of the civilian capacities review. Moreover, comprehensive domestic peacebuilding strategies are developed in close cooperation between, on the one hand, the international community, which often provides its technical and financial expertise in the process, and post-conflict Governments, to ensure domestic ownership and leadership, on the other hand.

The contribution of United Nations peacekeeping to early peacebuilding is undeniable. For that reason, it is important to clearly define what kind of peacebuilding activities can be developed at the early stages of a peacekeeping mission and which should be part of short-term or long-term priorities. Therefore, the integrated mission planning process needs to be improved in order to assist United Nations field missions and country teams to prioritize, while domestic capacity assessment should be taken more into account.

The United Nations must improve its expertise in working with civilians on peacebuilding. Implementing measures that support domestic capacity development and developing policy dialogue with donors on innovative approaches to the programming and funding peacebuilding is of vital importance. The United Nations system must clearly organize the roles and responsibilities it carries for dealing with core peacebuilding functions.

The Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund play an important role, in particular for country-specific configurations, since their peacebuilding strategies support activities related to creating environments conducive to sustainable peace and development. We are convinced that the

high-level stakeholders meeting of the Peacebuilding Fund to be held in November will bring about concrete recommendations on how better to utilize existing domestic resources for economic recovery in post-conflict situations.

The role of the Peacebuilding Fund is significant with regard to providing a quick response to immediate peacebuilding needs and post-conflict peacebuilding opportunities. The recent debate on security sector reform (see S/PV.6630) emphasized the important role of the Peacebuilding Fund and funds allocated for this purpose, not only in United Nations field missions but also in non-mission settings.

We acknowledge the importance of the World Bank-United Nations Fragility and Conflict Partnership Trust Fund. Although it has been operational for just over a year, the Fund continues to support peacebuilding initiatives in the field as well as exchanges of personnel between the two sponsoring institutions.

We emphasize that timely, predictable and sustainable funding for peacebuilding is the key to success. Innovative approaches to peacebuilding funding need to be explored and supported. Last year's review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture brought to light new possibilities for the work of the Peacebuilding Commission. Improved methods of work contributed to better interaction aimed at strengthening impact in the field.

To that end, cooperation between conflict-affected States and donors in terms of support for peacebuilding needs to be more structured, and efficiency needs to be supported. Lessons learned and previous experiences should be taken into consideration. One-size-fits-all solutions should be avoided, while the specificity of each country must be taken into account.

This year's annual debate on women and peace and security (see S/PV.6642) stressed important issues related to peacebuilding, namely, ensuring and increasing the role of women in peace processes, conflict mediation and resolution, providing women with a role in post-conflict needs assessment and planning, granting women access to justice and including women in economic recovery processes.

We are therefore of the view that UN-Women and the Peacebuilding Support Office should cooperate closely on implementing activities on the ground. The comprehensive economic engagement of women in economic recovery is not enough. The political participation of women needs to be a high priority, while more peacebuilding funds for women's empowerment and gender equality should be allocated.

In conclusion, we firmly believe that only the sustained and concerted efforts of all relevant actors can provide meaningful and tangible results in the peacebuilding arena. We should spare no effort in that endeavour.

**Mr. Mashabane** (South Africa): We express our sincere appreciation to the Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins, and to the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission configuration for Guinea, Ms. Sylvie Lucas, for their briefings.

Today's briefing provides an opportunity to reflect on what we have done as an Organization to enhance our peacebuilding efforts and continue to explore further measures to accomplish this important task. At the centre of peacebuilding efforts lies the crucial understanding that peacebuilding is the responsibility of Member States. While we believe that national ownership is at the core of the success of any peacebuilding initiative, that does not negate the fact that the international community has the responsibility to assist and advise countries, based on their priorities and policies, on how to consolidate and sustain newly fragile peace. Consequently, the United Nations should acknowledge already existing national programmes and build on them, instead of introducing new programmes, which are usually complicated and cumbersome.

While we are pleased that progress has been made in the area of leadership for peacebuilding, we believe that more can and will be done. The progress report of the Secretary-General on peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict (S/2010/386) identified challenges such as poor coordination or the lack of it, accountability and effectiveness. The complexity of peacebuilding tasks requires better coordination, especially in the field. In the selection and deployment of leadership, greater flexibility that takes into account the uniqueness of circumstances should be maintained.

Furthermore, we commend the action taken to strengthen cooperation between United Nations Headquarters and country teams on the ground.

However, we believe that more needs to be done to provide support to country-level leadership in order to enhance coordination, effectiveness and accountability.

South Africa recognizes the importance of the close cooperation between the United Nations and other international organizations, especially the Bretton Woods institutions. The World Bank's *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development* shows that more collaboration between the United Nations and those institutions could optimize our peacebuilding efforts. In that connection, we have noted with appreciation the World Bank's fragile States hub established in Nairobi.

With regard to Africa, we would like to encourage greater cooperation with the African Union, its regional economic communities and the African Development Bank. In forging such a partnership, coordination is crucial in order to facilitate strategic synergy and avoid unnecessary duplication. We believe that timely, sustainable and predictable financing remains a crucial element in realizing the objectives of post-conflict peacebuilding.

While we acknowledge the funding of the Peacebuilding Fund secured through donations, we emphasize that the United Nations should consider using more sustainable mechanisms to kick-start peacebuilding activities in countries emerging from conflict. We welcome plans to implement the recommendations of the Senior Advisory Group in its independent review of civilian capacities last year. We look forward to a comprehensive progress report on this process. We believe that we have not sufficiently tapped into the existing international civilian capacities, especially those from the global South. As we seek to broaden the pool of civilian experts, we cannot overemphasize the importance of partnerships at local, regional and subregional levels in order to exploit the unique advantages inherent in human capacities at these levels.

The relationship between the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission is crucial. The growing number of peacekeeping operations and integrated peacebuilding and political missions with considerable peacebuilding tasks provides the Security Council with an opportunity to make optimal use of Peacebuilding Commission advice. The Council could seek the Commission's advice when considering peacebuilding tasks in specific missions. Peacekeeping and peacebuilding should be mutually reinforcing in the pursuit of lasting peace in post-conflict countries. In that regard, we welcome the recent Council decision to include peacebuilding mandates in the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya.

In the long term, it is our belief that all United Nations peacekeeping missions should have some peacebuilding elements. Based on our past experience, South Africa is conscious of the centrality of women as peacemakers and facilitators in political processes and peacebuilding initiatives, particularly at the grass-roots level. Women at all levels of society have a role to play in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. An important dimension in advancing peace and preventing conflict is to ensure greater and more equitable economic justice and development.

Despite the advances that have been made in positioning women to assume leadership roles in conflict prevention and mediation, these will be meaningless if the root causes of conflict, which by and large are economic in nature, are not adequately addressed. We look forward to the next comprehensive report of the Secretary-General in 2012, and hope that by that time we will have made significant progress in our peacebuilding efforts.

**Mr. Messone** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I too would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Judy Cheng-Hopkins for her briefing and Ambassador Lucas for her observations.

My delegation welcomes the progress achieved in 2011 on the recommendations resulting from the 2010 review of United Nations peacebuilding efforts. The Peacebuilding Support Office played a large role in this, in accordance with the commitment made to the General Assembly in January 2010 to making 2011 the year that those recommendations would be implemented. We also welcome the Peacebuilding Commission's ongoing efforts in this area as it seeks, on the basis of the 2011 action plan, to achieve concrete goals and tangible results in improving its effect on national capacity-building, mobilizing resources and bringing key actors together around common peacebuilding objectives. We also welcome the progress in strategic and operational cohesion that Ms. Cheng-Hopkins mentioned in her briefing. If we are to achieve this vision fully, we clearly need to strengthen the role of the Peacebuilding Support Office

and to improve coordination between the Office and the Commission, which continues to benefit directly from the Office's resources.

My delegation also welcomes the information sessions that the Office conducts for the Commission on the activities and operations of the Peacebuilding Fund, which have contributed to a better understanding of the synergy between the Commission and the Fund in the countries on the Commission's agenda. This was the case at the most recent visit to Bangui a few weeks ago of the Central African Republic configuration, in which my country took part.

My delegation takes this opportunity to welcome the Council's efforts to encourage participation by the Chairs of the country-specific configurations to conduct more interactive and informal exchanges on the opportunities that peacebuilding offers or the difficulties it faces in some countries on the Commission's agenda. We realize that peacekeeping and peacebuilding are increasingly linked and thus demand greater effectiveness from the Commission in its consulting role as it pursues its mission.

Beyond the tasks of security and stabilization, we believe it essential for peacebuilding strategies to put increasing emphasis on socio-economic policies designed to improve the living standards of the most vulnerable populations and of former combatants within the framework of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) — particularly the crucial "R" stage of DDR, the reintegration of former combatants. Priorities in this area are training young people and promoting the advancement of women, which contribute to fighting poverty. Tangible progress in the socio-economic area cannot fail to have a positive impact on the security situation. My delegation welcomes the Commission's efforts with donors to enhance international commitment and mobilize more funding for the Peacebuilding Fund, without prejudging what the most effective strategies might be.

Finally, we believe that partnerships are also crucial to the success of any peacebuilding initiative. Exchanges and consultations with the international financial institutions, and with regional and subregional organizations such as the African Union, the Economic Community of Central African States, the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CAEMC) and the Economic Community of West African States, will be very helpful in backing up the Peacebuilding Support Office and the Commission. In the Central African Republic, for example, the authorities have emphasized that the successful launch of DDR operations there last June was due to the funds provided by CAEMC to support the electoral process.

My delegation continues to believe that the United Nations should continue to play the principal role in the common vision of peacebuilding and in promoting increased cooperation between its various stakeholders, and that it should act as the link between national authorities and the various development and peacebuilding stakeholders.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would first like to express my appreciation for the briefings by Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support, and Ambassador Sylvie Lucas, Chair of the peacebuilding configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission for Guinea and Permanent Representative of Luxembourg.

The Council's analysis today of strategies for effectively and efficiently addressing problems of peacebuilding and peacekeeping is very timely. Going on previous discussions, and given the high risk of regression in the first few years of peace, we acknowledge that the identification, development and use of national capacities should be a post-conflict priority.

We also agree that national post-conflict activities to establish and build peace should be supported by effective and timely civilian efforts, and that the international community, especially the United Nations, should provide speedy and effective specialized civilian capacity and the experience needed for supporting national stakeholders working to restore the rule of law, revitalize the economy, relaunch the provision of basic services to the population and develop the capacity to make such efforts sustainable.

As the Secretary-General indicated in his report (S/2009/304), what must be done in the post-conflict period is to create basic security conditions and confidence in the political process and to strengthen national capacity to take the initiative in peacebuilding activities and create stable living conditions. We welcome Ambassador Lucas's report on the progress of countries receiving support from the Peacebuilding Commission. Support for national authorities has promoted progress in such areas as security sector

reform, the rule of law, respect for human rights, the restoration of Government institutions and economic revitalization.

In this regard, Colombia emphasizes the importance of ensuring that post-conflict support is based on the principles proposed by the Senior Advisory Group: national ownership, more solid partnerships, experience in supporting national entities and flexible responses. National ownership is the guiding principle on which all measures to promote civilian capacity should be based. In order to strengthen national ownership, we cannot fail to clarify and strengthen a Government's basic post-conflict functions. It is essential not only to build technical capacity but also to strengthen institutions and rebuild the confidence of society as a whole, enabling people to accept the legitimacy of their own Government.

Another peacebuilding priority is the need to build more solid partnerships with external actors that can bring innovative approaches to civilian capacity-building. Our Organization must work to facilitate improvements on the ground by creating effective, broader partnerships that take supply and demand from outside partners into account. Clearly, more adaptable, timely and cost-effective systems are needed to enhance the flexibility of the responses required by the changing environment on the ground. Due consideration must be given to budget implications and contributions from States, as well as to the need to fully comply with the mandates set by the competent organs of the United Nations.

It is essential to strengthen, by providing adequate technical assistance, monitoring and accountability mechanisms for United Nations staff as part of efforts to guarantee impartiality and transparency and to restore trust. Moreover, the actors involved in the process must be able to clearly assess the progress made in the early stages of national reconstruction. We commend the Secretary-General on his efforts to improve the accountability mechanisms for United Nations senior leadership and assessment methods, and on his initiatives to increase the number of vacant posts and enhance training for senior-level personnel.

As I have said, the United Nations and its Member States must broadly promote all of the pillars mentioned, including women's participation in conflict resolution, not only as experts within the Organization and in Member States but also as true actors of change.

Colombia once again underscores the need to formulate sustainable long-term strategies based on a balance between direct international support and national efforts. This will help to prevent countries' prolonged dependence on international resources, which eventually limits their development. The success of those processes is a responsibility shared by affected societies and the international community. We encourage the Steering Group to pursue the open and comprehensive consultation process, in which due attention should be given to the concerns of all States.

In conclusion, what countries want is a competent Organization that provides cooperation while respecting national ownership and priorities, and that supports the democratic processes chosen by a country's people in peacebuilding.

**Mr. Cabral** (Portugal): We thank you, Madam President, for having convened this briefing on a topic to which my country attaches great importance. I would also like to thank the briefers, Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Sylvie Lucas, for the very useful views they have shared with the Council on this matter.

It is now commonly assumed that peacekeeping and peacebuilding should be seen as an integrated effort, no longer as a sequence of activities, and that peacebuilding activities should begin as soon the situation on the ground so permits, well within the span of the foreseeable duration of a peacekeeping operation and throughout its cycle. We believe that we have come a long way in identifying gaps and mechanisms for more efficient post-conflict peacebuilding, mainly in terms of civilian capacity.

The creation of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) brought much-needed consistency to the way the United Nations links immediate post-conflict stabilization to the creation and consolidation of State institutions that can ensure long-term security. The Security Council must be able to take full advantage of the work and insights of the PBC and its configurations when it discusses the establishment, renewal and conclusion of mission mandates. In this area of our interaction with the PBC, there is certainly much room for improvement.

Allow me to underline a number of aspects that we believe to be particularly important in the context of post-conflict peacebuilding. The first is the importance of fostering national ownership in State-building initiatives. Strengthening national capacities for fulfilling the core functions of the State should be the first priority in post-conflict assistance. Choices always have to be made. International efforts should therefore be directed to ensure that decisions on policy objectives and priorities are taken by national actors, and that international efforts are intended mainly to assist, and not to replace, State authorities.

Secondly, economic and social development in countries emerging from conflict is also important. International economic aid should be concentrated on projects that take into account the economic, social and even cultural realities of a country, as well as its specific capacities and their foreign investment potential. The issue of unemployment, especially youth unemployment, must be addressed with concrete and focused initiatives.

Thirdly, we should pay attention to peacebuilding tasks from the early stages of the post-conflict period and reconstruction. Mandates should clearly identify the role and functions of peacekeepers as early peacebuilders in such multidimensional areas as the rule of law and security sector reform. The United Nations must better articulate the link between civilian and political tasks and those traditionally performed by peacekeepers. In many situations, that linkage is crucial to prevent a relapse into conflict.

As complex as peacebuilding may be, the United Nations already has its fair share of success stories in ensuring a successful transition to sustainable peace and security. For example, Timor-Leste managed to develop into a solid democracy with stable institutions in less than a decade. That success was due, first and foremost, to the Timorese people and their leaders, but also to the decisive involvement of the United Nations and its peacebuilding efforts, in which it worked side by side with the national Government and other international partners. I am certain that we can learn from this and other similar cases as we strive to improve our capacity to carry out peacebuilding tasks.

**Mr. DeLaurentis** (United States of America): I also wish to thank Assistant-Secretary-General Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Lucas for their thoughtful briefings today.

Peacebuilding in the immediate aftermath of conflict is among our highest priorities, representing the greatest opportunity to transform the dynamics that led to bloodshed in the first place. If those who seek to build peace are not successful in the months after a conflict's end, then it becomes increasingly difficult to consolidate peace as time passes. I would like to return to some key points made by Ambassador Rice during our most recent debate (see S/PV. 6396) on this subject.

First, the strength of United Nations peacebuilding is dependent on the expertise and capabilities of its field personnel and on the United Nations agility in deploying, leading and managing them effectively. The United States welcomes the Secretary-General's continuing focus on mission leadership. Skilled and effective leadership is essential to success. We also welcome the unfolding civilian capacity review implementation process, the efforts of which must improve the flexibility, resourcefulness and decisiveness of the United Nations in deploying qualified and capable civilian specialists to the field.

The constellation of United Nations departments, agencies and programmes represents a deep reservoir of human talent and organizational resources that can be effective contributors to peacebuilding. We believe that more can be done to target the skills and expertise available within the United Nations family and the wider international community, including the Bretton Woods institutions. We also continue to look forward, as we have noted previously, to further progress in clarifying key peacebuilding roles and responsibilities.

Secondly, if United Nations efforts to build peace are to be truly sustainable, they must incorporate women throughout the process. We echo the comments of the Secretary-General in his 2010 report on women's participation in peacebuilding, in which he stated that "women are crucial partners in shoring up three pillars of lasting peace: economic recovery, social cohesion and political legitimacy" (*A/65/354, para. 7*).

The United States is currently developing a national action plan on women and peace and security so as to focus efforts on women's participation in relief and recovery efforts. Women must be empowered not just as beneficiaries of development, but as agents of economic, social and political transformation.

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to three women peacebuilders is a strong testament to

their indispensability to successful peace processes. Our post-conflict development efforts recognize that women are essential drivers of the peacebuilding process. For example, members of the United States Civilian Response Corps in South Sudan are working with local women leaders in areas historically underrepresented in the political circles in Juba to facilitate their increased participation in political processes.

We also commend the work of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone, which has developed an approach on gender matters that combats gender-based violence and promotes access to health care, political participation and justice for women.

This briefing reminds us how vital the work of peacebuilding and institution-building is. Helping a society recover from conflict is never an easy task. But we must persevere in collaborating to formulate the effective solutions that each post-conflict society needs. Unless we work together to consolidate peace in war-torn lands, we will never be able to truly achieve our goal of international peace and security.

**Mr. Wang Min** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to thank Nigeria for its initiative to hold this briefing on post-conflict peacebuilding. We also welcome the statements made by Assistant Secretary-General Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Lucas.

Post-conflict peacebuilding is a major task of the United Nations that has significant bearing not only on ensuring lasting peace and sustainable development in the countries concerned but also on strengthening the existing collective security system and promoting common development. In the past decade or so, while the United Nations has achieved remarkable results in post-conflict peacebuilding and has accumulated a wealth of experience, it has also encountered numerous challenges.

I should like to focus on four specific points.

First, post-conflict peacebuilding should be carried out on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty of the countries concerned. Countries in post-conflict situations bear primary responsibility for peacebuilding on their own territory. In helping countries to build peace, the international community should respect their aspirations and try to help them strengthen national capacity-building so as to enhance the level of governance. In doing so, integrated, coordinated and targeted working methods should be adopted that take into consideration the different domestic situations of various countries. In addition, partnerships with the countries concerned should be strengthened.

Secondly, peacebuilding efforts should have clear priorities. In helping the countries concerned to formulate their integrated peacebuilding development strategies, the United Nations and its relevant agencies should respect the priorities identified by the countries themselves, focusing on stabilizing the security situation, promoting political reconciliation and strengthening democracy. Particular attention should be paid to tackling the root causes of threats to peace and security, particularly in the area of economic and social development. Peacebuilding efforts should also include exit strategies so as to enable a smooth transition towards lasting peace and sustainable development.

Thirdly, resources should be used as effectively as possible in this field. The United Nations should continue to pay attention to issues such as peacebuilding, financing and expertise-building. We urge the international community to continue to provide sufficient resources to peacebuilding efforts. We consider that efforts should be made to expand fund-raising channels and that the Peacebuilding Fund should further improve its working methods and enhance performance management and its resource utilization rate.

Fourthly, the important role of the Peacebuilding Commission and regional organizations should be brought into full play. China hopes that the Peacebuilding Commission will further improve its institution-building efforts and strengthen its synergies with other organizations in its efforts to explore effective means of peacebuilding. Regional organizations such as the African Union should also be fully utilized.

China has always supported the efforts of countries in conflict situations to build peace, and we will further join the international community in making concerted efforts and contributions aimed at the promotion of lasting peace.

**Mrs. Viotti** (Brazil): I wish at the outset to thank Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins for her presentation on recent developments to further the United Nations peacebuilding agenda.

Brazil associates itself with the statement made by Ambassador Sylvie Lucas on behalf of the Chairs of the country-specific configurations.

We welcome the discussion of the critical role of the United Nations in ensuring stability and sustainable peace in countries emerging from conflict. The Council has already recognized the interdependence between security and development, but we have yet to perfect a truly comprehensive approach that takes into account the underlying causes of conflict that helps countries rebuild institutions and supports their efforts to address the basic needs of their populations.

A stronger relationship between the Security Council and the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) is crucial for the greater effectiveness of peacebuilding activities. We should find ways to enable the Security Council to draw further on the PBC in order to enhance the system's capacity to implement peacebuilding strategies at the early stages of United Nations involvement in a conflict country.

Early peacebuilding activities are relevant to the success of peacekeeping operations, through integrated missions that associate civilian capacities with the military and police component. Such integrated missions should ensure that the stability space created by a peacekeeping force can be sustained through a simultaneous effort to help the country strengthen its institutional capacity and restore basic services.

We welcome the efforts being undertaken to strengthen a regional approach to some of the problems common to countries on the PBC agenda. Such is the case of the West Africa Coast Initiative, which brings together the countries of West Africa in the fight against drug trafficking. We must pursue more effective resource mobilization for the implementation of this important initiative.

We are glad to see that women's participation in peacebuilding has gained more attention. Women should play a central role in post-conflict situations. There is a greater awareness of their potential contribution to furthering reconciliation, preventing conflicts and bolstering economic revitalization. This potential should be fully tapped into.

This is particularly true for the countries that are on the PBC agenda. In Guinea-Bissau, for instance, women make a fundamental contribution to all sectors of the country's life, from agriculture, especially as smallholder farmers, to law enforcement and policymaking.

We commend the actions taken by the Secretariat and the relevant United Nations entities, including UN-Women, to foster the role of women in peacebuilding, and strongly support the continuation of such efforts.

We encourage the Secretariat to continue to look into creative ways of enhancing the United Nations response to the peacebuilding needs of post-conflict countries. Brazil will continue to be a strong supporter of peacebuilding at the United Nations. As a member of the Peacebuilding Commission and Chair of the country-specific configuration for Guinea-Bissau, we reaffirm our commitment to working together with other interested members in helping bring sustainable peace and development to the countries on the Commission's agenda.

**Mr. Ahamed** (India): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Madam President, for having organized this timely debate. Your initiative will be significant in determining the relevance and effectiveness of not only the Council but also of the larger United Nations system in the decades to come.

I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Judy Cheng-Hopkins and the Chair of the peacebuilding configuration for Guinea, Ambassador Sylvie Lucas, for their useful briefings. Our sincere appreciation also goes to Ambassador Gasana for his able stewardship of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC).

The idea of peacebuilding essentially emanates from experience in peacekeeping distilled over decades. The United Nations has made enormous investments in manpower and resources in multidimensional peacekeeping operations. In such a scenario, the Council would do well to effectively consult major troop- and police-contributing countries, both individually and through the instrumentality of the PBC, when formulating and revising mandates of United Nations missions.

India's excellence in peacekeeping is a result of our long partnership with United Nations missions. Our consolidated contributions are bigger than the magnitude of current peacekeeping operations. Our peacekeepers have invariably also been early peacebuilders. India has also shared its experience and

expertise with a range of countries that have embarked on the path of transition from conflict to peace.

India will happily continue to make our capacities available to societies emerging from conflict situations and will partner with the United Nations in its peacebuilding endeavours. As a member of the Organizational Committee of the Peacebuilding Commission, India has actively partnered with the PBC since its inception in December 2005 and has contributed to the Peacebuilding Fund.

Peacebuilding is a cooperative and coordinated venture. Peacebuilding strategies must first be harmonized within the United Nations system. The existing structures and networks need to be consolidated as we explore alternatives elsewhere. Harnessing the capacities of the global South will energize our peacebuilding enterprise. It is also important to keep in mind that national ownership is the critical determinant of success in peacebuilding. It is the duty of the international community to ensure assistance for capacity-building to national authorities.

Security is, of course, the key pillar for peacebuilding. However, it is equally important that we focus on economic opportunity, particularly for the youth, in tandem with political and social stability. That demands a holistic approach. It is also important that there be an effective two-way dialogue between countries on the PBC agenda and the Commission itself throughout all phases. Let us also acknowledge the fact that the lack of funding constitutes a major impediment to the success of peacebuilding initiatives.

It goes without saying that other elements such as human resources, technical assistance, managerial assistance, assistance in kind and other programmes of assistance through provision of appropriate technologies are also important. Predictable and appropriate resource levels over an extended period will guarantee the sustainability of peacebuilding initiatives.

Enhancing civilian capacity will have a major impact on staffing and resourcing and the peacekeeping missions themselves. Those are essential, but they should neither dilute nor detract from the requirements of peacekeeping. It is also important that civilian capacities are sourced with the requisite measure of ground experience. In that context, priority should be given to obtaining secondment capacities from the Governments of developing countries.

My delegation is hoping for constructive and meaningful discussions on the substance of the Secretary-General's report on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict (S/2011/527). It is essential that such discussions take place in intergovernmental settings and involve the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and the Fifth Committee.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon): I thank you, Madam President, for organizing this meeting. Allow me also to thank Ms. Cheng-Hopkins for her informative briefing and Ambassador Lucas for her presentation.

We welcome the positive measures adopted in certain peacebuilding areas, such as the start of the implementation process of the international civilian capacities review, ensuring appropriate United Nations senior leadership capacities, and strengthening partnerships with the World Bank and other stakeholders.

However, considerable work remains to be done to support national efforts in building suitable conditions for durable peace. I would like to make the following remarks in that regard.

First, concerning United Nations senior leadership, my delegation concurs with Ms. Cheng-Hopkins that in certain settings evolving circumstances on the ground may require a shift in the field leadership profile and timely deployment of senior leaders with adequate expertise to support peacebuilding efforts, with special attention being duly given to the strategic period immediately following the end of the conflict.

Secondly, my delegation believes that peacebuilding is collective in nature, and its success depends largely on the clarity of the roles and responsibilities of a wide array of local, national and international actors. Since none of those actors can individually conduct an overall successful peacekeeping operation, coherence and coordination are essential to manage the interdependence of their roles. In that regard, we welcome the various reviews carried out by the Secretary-General's Policy Committee for the purpose of coherence and the efforts to strengthen partnership and coordination between the United Nations and the World Bank.

Furthermore, we strongly believe an integrated peacebuilding strategy must be developed to create a reference point for coherence. Such a strategy should

be based on impartial analysis of the root causes of the conflict and should be subject to timely review, according to the dynamic and evolving environment on the ground.

Thirdly, my delegation is encouraged by the decision to make national capacity assessment part of the integrated missions planning process. Strong partnership among international and national actors is necessary to operationalize national ownership of peacebuilding, without which peacebuilding is unlikely to be sustainable or successful. Despite progress in this regard, more needs to be done to enable the United Nations to effectively support national peacebuilding efforts. That is particularly true for certain peacebuilding core areas such as rule of law and security sector reform. As is well known, those areas are fundamental for ensuring security, preventing new eruptions of violence and effectively combating drug trafficking and organized crime.

Fourthly, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to women from Yemen and Liberia was a laudable recognition of the difference that women can make when they so courageously engage in rebuilding their societies. Indeed, existing studies suggest that gender balance not only reduces corruption but also ensures greater transparency and responsiveness to community needs. That is why meaningful participation of women in decision-making institutions and mechanisms related to peacebuilding should begin at the earliest stage of recovery.

Efforts have been made to ensure gender expertise in mediation and to promote the access of women and girls to security and justice.

However, we believe that the United Nations and the Peacebuilding Commission should provide more systematic assistance to Governments and help them ensure more consistent participation of women in peace accords and donor conferences.

Gender analysis is also important and offers a valuable tool for understanding the gender dimensions of violence and recovery and for tailoring effective approaches to gender issues in specific post-conflict settings.

In conclusion, peacebuilding is often a long, convoluted and complex undertaking. However, its success is imperative for durable peace and for the sustainable development of societies.

**Mr. Briens** (France) (*spoke in French*): Thank you, Madam President, for holding this meeting on peacebuilding. I would also like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Lucas for their presentations. It is crucial for the Security Council, which is responsible for issues of international peacekeeping and security, to regularly address the matter of peacebuilding. United Nations action is not limited to merely supporting or restoring peace. Building peace once it has been established is essential to make sure that a country just emerging from conflict does not relapse into crisis.

We must remember that peacebuilding consists above all of managing the progressive restoration of all the capabilities of a given sovereign State with the goal of giving their people full mastery of their destiny.

Several elements are key to the successful management that transition. First of all, national ownership, which is the basis of lasting peace, demands sizable reforms. Those reforms, which involve such essential aspects such as governance, justice and security, or which can also require the renewal of a development process, cannot be brought to fruition without national ownership. The key to success in peacebuilding is the implementation of a substantial dialogue with the State in question. To facilitate that dialogue, we have established in some post-conflict countries, integrated peacebuilding offices, such as the United Nations Integrated Office in the Central African Republic and the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi.

The second key element for a successful transition is good coordination among the stakeholders. Post-conflict peacebuilding is complex, because it implies the simultaneous management of very different tasks. There is often a fine line between those tasks and peacekeeping operations. Peacekeeping operations should support that process as much as possible. However, even during the early stages, peacekeeping operations cannot necessarily take on all the aspects of peacebuilding. The earliest possible return of the usual actors, in the realm of development for example, is preferable. Careful consultation and coordination among all stakeholders is therefore necessary for the most effective international partners to be involved in peacebuilding programmes, and for each stakeholder to play the most appropriate role. In addition to the civilian structure that any peacekeeping operation implies, this could involve the United Nations agencies

with solid technical experience, such United Nations Development Program, or bilateral partners.

It is precisely that level of engagement that the Peacebuilding Commission, with the impetus provided by the Luxembourg Mission and the help of the Secretariat and the Office in Dakar, is attempting to advance in Guinea, where there is neither a peacekeeping operation nor an integrated peacebuilding office. We are pleased to see that the support actions have been identified and assigned, particularly with respect to security sector reform, in order to help the Guineans to build peace and consolidate their young democracy.

The third key element is advance planning. Because the conditions needed for peacebuilding must to be present from the first stages of crisis management, it is important to undertake a process of reflection on the priorities that need to be implemented in the immediate post-conflict period. In that regard, I wish to single out the study conducted by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Mission Support Division on the contribution of peacekeeping operations to the question of consolidating peace, which was explored during the last meeting of the Peacebuilding Commission.

What tools do we have for implementing those transition principles?

First of all, we must work on the quality of the mandates, which should allow us to lay the groundwork for the peacebuilding phase. That is what we did in Côte d'Ivoire, with resolution 2000 (2011), which gives the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire a clear mandate to support the authorities in stepping up their security sector. We did the same thing with the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, with resolution 1996 (2011), which sets forth support for the South Sudanese authorities with respect to the reform of their justice and security sectors, and the strengthening of the rule of law.

Secondly, based on those mandates, the Secretariat should implement a planning process that includes, on the one hand, a mechanism for measuring the progress of a mission, and on the other, provisions that allow its end-point to be taken into account from the beginning. Finally, it is critical to have resources on the ground in order to implement the transition. For that reason in particular, the civilian capacity-building is a key aspect in peacebuilding in post-conflict situations. In order to more effectively help countries affected by conflict, the efforts of the international community should be guided by a spirit of partnership that strengthens the links between United Nations civilian capacity, Member States, regional organizations and civil society.

In that context, I welcome the Secretary-General's report from last August (see S/2011/552), which is the first United Nations response to the Independent Report by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno on civilian capacities.

To conclude, I should like to underscore that the growing mobilization of different stakeholders with respect to peacebuilding, whether the United Nations or other international actors, has provided us with many tools, which we must use in the best way possible by developing synergies. We will thus ensure both consistent international action and clear United Nations work in the area of peacebuilding.

**Mr. Wittig** (Germany): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Judy Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Lucas for their detailed briefings.

This is a welcome opportunity to take stock of the peacebuilding agenda and to follow up on its implementation. We share the analysis that progress has been achieved in various fields since last year's progress report of the Secretary-General. However, our undivided attention and continued support are required for us to deliver on commitments and to further enhance our impact on the ground. That includes the need for continuous adaptation of peacebuilding to changing and evolving circumstances in countries emerging from conflict.

It is against that backdrop that I would like to focus my remarks on three priority areas: first, the need to further develop and clarify the scope and mode of action of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC); secondly, the implementation of the civilian capacities review; and thirdly, the strengthening of women's participation in peacebuilding.

First, with regard to the Peacebuilding Commission, while the addition of countries to the PBC's agenda over the past year proves the membership's acknowledgement of and faith in the PBC, focus needs to be given to developing strategies that allow countries to graduate from the PBC's agenda

and, if needed, to a lighter form of engagement. Ms. Cheng-Hopkins elaborated on that point as well.

As we witness the increasing inclusion of peacebuilding into national poverty-reduction strategies in countries like Burundi and Sierra Leone, we also need a common understanding of the role the PBC can realistically play to further promote peacebuilding at that stage. The PBC should help support the relevant actors to come to a common vision. It should ensure that the stakeholders focus on agreed and shared priorities. It should help countries address obstacles to peacebuilding and obtain clear commitments from the Government concerned and the international community on the implementation of the peacebuilding agenda. The Commission should raise awareness; it must not be reduced to the role of a fundraiser.

Moreover, enhancing partnerships with international financial institutions and major regional actors in order to help build coherence remains a critical task. In that context, we welcome the increased interaction and cooperation with the World Bank. In our view, such collaboration should also be deepened on the ground. The established interaction with the group of fragile States is also a positive step. A mutual understanding of how the PBC can best support the implementation of the Monrovia road map of June 2011 needs to be achieved. Greater clarity on how the PBC can contribute to the high-level forum on aid effectiveness to be held in Busan in November, and on its follow-up, is also needed.

My second point relates to the implementation of the civilian capacities review. Making civilian capacity available in an effective, appropriate and timely manner to support peacebuilding in conflict affected countries is the best way to secure national ownership and to render peace and reconstruction sustainable. We therefore welcome the Secretary-General's report on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict (see S/2011/85) and its just approach to making better use of existing resources within the United Nations to that end.

We advocate concrete steps towards strengthening and using national, international and United Nations capabilities in post-conflict situations without delay. South Sudan should be a starting point. Critical needs, notably the establishment of Government institutions and justice, need to be addressed swiftly. Attention should be paid to identifying and effectively supporting national capacities, including those of diasporas.

My third point concerns the strengthening of women's participation in peacebuilding. Fostering women's engagement in peacebuilding requires integrating that effort into all activities and providing dedicated funding for women's needs. One crucial point in that context is the need for clarity, comparability and consistency across the United Nations in monitoring the impact of its agenda on gender-related issues. We therefore agree with the necessity mentioned in the recent report of the Secretary-General on women and peace and security (S/2011/598*) to develop consistent means of tracking and reporting of spending on gender equality and women's empowerment within the next year. The United Nations presence in conflict and post-conflict situations should strive to achieve greater coherence. Sector specific gender expertise is needed for the effective implementation of the women and peace and security objectives.

While several countries appear to be graduating from fragility, there is scope to maximize the impact of peacebuilding by further developing its strategic approach and by bridging the policy-practice gap. We stand ready to work to that end with countries emerging from conflict, the United Nations and all relevant stakeholders.

**Ms. Hendrie** (United Kingdom): I thank Ms. Judy Cheng-Hopkins and Ambassador Sylvie Lucas for their briefings.

It seems clear from what we have heard this morning that we are making real strides as the international community towards providing support for countries emerging from conflict. We are now much better equipped to help them as a collective community to tackle the challenges that they face.

However, what we have also heard this morning is that we still have some way to go. Peacebuilding is a collective endeavour and all of us must work together to raise our game. A key element of that is getting strong and effective leadership in the field. The United Kingdom would like to note that the recent appointment of experienced individuals with strong peacebuilding backgrounds, such as the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General in Libya and South Sudan, indicates that we are making progress in

that direction. It is possible to put the people with the right skills on the ground.

Such leadership is important not only in the context of a mission but also in non-mission settings. In the latter, it is essential that resident coordinators also have the right skills and experience to tackle the challenges that they face in post-conflict settings. They must be able to access the right kind of support from Headquarters and the wider international system in a timely way. The political support that the Peacebuilding Support Office has provided to the United Nations team in Guinea is quite a good example of that.

We are also pleased to hear in the briefing of Ms. Cheng-Hopkins that the United Nations has sustained its momentum on integrated mission planning. That is absolutely essential. A process that brings together all key actors and clearly sets out the sector leads and the necessary benchmarks to gauge progress is the most effective way to ensure well-coordinated delivery.

In that regard, we would again like to point out what we think was a good example, namely, the pre-assessment planning process for Libya. That involved a team that brought together all relevant parts of the United Nations system and the World Bank into the same conversation sufficiently in advance.

As Assistant Secretary-General Cheng-Hopkins pointed out during her briefing, the review of civilian capacities is clearly an important vehicle to improve United Nations performance on peacebuilding. The United Kingdom welcomes the Secretary-General's report (see S/2011/85). Of course, we look forward to hearing about the results that have been achieved in the field in consequence of that initiative in the near future. The report rightly places the principle of national ownership front and centre. In that regard, we look forward to progress on identifying and supporting national sources of capacity and on building global South capacities and triangular cooperation to find the most appropriate civilian expertise for the context.

Turning now to a critical issue, which is that of roles and responsibilities, the United Kingdom feels that we really need to do more in that area. In particular, we would like to point to the need to make progress on the rule of law. That is an area where, frankly, the least amount of progress has been made since the Secretary-General's report of 2009 (S/2009/304). We know that our failure to resolve that affects delivery on the ground. The *World Development Report 2011* has provided evidence that there are crucial gaps in the international system in the provision of support for the rule of law, and that the United Nations has a key role to play in that regard.

Such continued gaps mean that countries are often unable to access the support that they need on key issues, such as justice reform. We welcome efforts at more joint programming, which improves coordination among actors in the field. However, that is not the whole story. We need greater clarity over which part of the system is the global service provider for which specific function under the rule of law heading. We need a framework that is clear, but also flexible enough to be able to adapt to the realities in the field. We hope that he Secretary-General's report in 2012 can demonstrate real progress on the issue.

Ms. Cheng-Hopkins rightly said that Member States need to be engaged in that discussion if progress is to be made. The United Kingdom agrees with that and strongly supports it. As Member States that are also members of the governing boards of the funds and programmes, we must be ready to actively support integration in those forums rather than fragmentation.

Finally, the United Kingdom welcomes the update on women's participation in peacebuilding and the partnership between the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office and UN-Women. We welcome the fact that progress is being made in the areas of mediation and political dialogue and in integrating gender equality into post-conflict needs assessment and rule of law work.

However, there is still much to be done to ensure the participation of women at all stages of peacebuilding, including the appointment of more women as special envoys and chief mediators. In the words of UN-Women chief, Michelle Bachelet, if women are not represented at the negotiating table, society itself is not represented.

**Mr. Pankin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Judy Cheng-Hopkins for her comprehensive briefing on the Organization's progress on post-conflict peacebuilding. We would also like to thank Ms. Sylvie Lucas for her briefing.

I may be repeating what has perhaps already been said this morning when I say that the primary role of States that have experienced the active phase of conflict is furthering national reconciliation and rebuilding safe and favourable living conditions for the entire population of the country. That is absolutely essential in order to avoid renewed conflict.

Experience shows that, in most cases, countries exhausted by war or crises are unable to address by themselves the entire range of problems related to rebuilding security, ensuring law and order, protecting human rights and alleviating poverty. There is a significant need for international assistance in that regard.

We are convinced that there can be no successful and long-term benefits of peacekeeping support without State ownership of the process. Countries must define their own peacebuilding priorities, and national Government bodies must manage the implementation of those goals. That has been confirmed by experience in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste, where the capacity of the international community to take account of the interests and priorities of the host country was leveraged by the readiness of national Governments to assume responsibility for implementing reform.

As has been noted, the United Nations undoubtedly has a special role to play in coordinating international efforts in post-conflict peacebuilding. This work requires the coordinated efforts of Member States, United Nations programme and funds, the Secretariat, regional organizations and international financial institutions. I would also note that United Nations peacekeeping operations now undertake many early-stage peacebuilding tasks. In addressing their principal task of disengaging the warring parties, stabilizing the situation and establishing conditions conducive to a political process, United Nations peacekeepers are also playing a critical role in creating conditions favourable to providing more significant peacebuilding support.

We should, however, take into account the fact that peacebuilding is a multifaceted and long-term process that extends far beyond the limited time frame of peacekeeping operations. Therefore, providing basic assistance to States for institution-building, development and social and economic stability falls to the Organization's specialized agencies, whose efforts must not be duplicated but mutually reinforcing. In that context, we support statements concerning the activity of the Peacebuilding Commission, which is striving to formulate recommendations to ensure uninterrupted and coordinated international support for countries emerging from conflict.

We note with pleasure the heightened attention being accorded by Member States and the Secretariat to various aspects of peacebuilding that require further consideration and the development of strategies and frameworks for practical implementation. In that respect, I would refer in particular to security sector reform, strengthening the rule of law and the development of civilian capacities.

It is clear that positive peacebuilding results have been achieved by regional actors, including neighbouring countries and subregional organizations. A fine example of such regional cooperation is the experience of several African countries that have overcome conflict and achieved some success in peacebuilding. Such countries are ready to share their experiences and could be the source of initiatives that could be successfully implemented by States that have recently emerged from crises. Such experiences are tried and tested, empirical examples, and not just theories.

The Peacebuilding Fund is an important mechanism for rapid financing that helps to attract long-term resources for reconstruction. It is important that we support its work, and my country, Russia, has confirmed its policy in that respect by making an annual contribution of $2 million to the Fund, which we will continue to provide.

**The President**: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Nigeria.

I add my voice of appreciation to Assistant Secretary-General Cheng-Hopkins for her lucid and comprehensive briefing. I also want to thank Ambassador Sylvie Lucas, Chair of the peacebuilding configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) for Guinea, for sharing her perspectives on the PBC with us.

Nigeria greatly appreciates the continuing dialogue on the activities, progress and challenges of United Nations peacebuilding, given our common efforts to prevent post-conflict countries from sliding back into war. The Secretary-General's agenda for

action delineated the yardsticks for measuring the effectiveness of the efforts of the PBC, the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), the Security Council, the integrated United Nations missions and other major actors in the peacebuilding arena.

The PBC itself has outlined a road map of actions in 2011 to add value to its peacebuilding efforts. The road map identifies resource mobilization and the building of national capacities as core peacebuilding priorities. As a lightning rod for the United Nations major peacebuilding efforts, the PBSO has supported the progressive realization of the road map over the past year. Indeed, six years since the inception of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture, the PBC and the PBSO have undeniably transformed our collective vision of conflict resolution.

The derivative of this renewed focus on benchmarks is an emerging resource-driven approach to peacebuilding by all the funds and agencies concerned with post-conflict peacebuilding. However, in this drive for results, we must never lose sight of the imperative to tailor all peacebuilding programmes to the specific needs of the host nation. As an ardent supporter of the peacebuilding agenda, Nigeria is convinced that the results-driven approach, complemented by national ownership, is a prerequisite for sustaining the high-level political commitment of Member States and international institutions alike to programmes that assist countries transitioning from conflict.

It is our task in the Council to actively engage with the PBSO and the PBC in exchanging views on peacebuilding best practices and lessons learned. Besides providing immense benefits to countries on the agenda of the PBC, lessons learned can also benefit other nations emerging from a state of instability. A case in point is the new Libya, whose current leadership has reached out to the United Nations for post-conflict support and assistance. The vision of the National Transitional Council — and indeed, of all of us — of a peaceful, harmonious Libya cannot be realized without social structures in place to ensure the rule of law and the adequate provision of social and economic infrastructure.

Over the past six years, the PBSO, the Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund have acquired appreciable specialization in helping nations to their feet after devastating conflicts. Their wealth of knowledge should be mined for principles of peacebuilding that will be applicable even in countries that are not on the PBC's agenda.

The notion of early peacebuilding that PBC Chair Ambassador Gasana vociferously advocated in March should be developed, promoted and operationalized. To address the multidimensional challenges faced in post-conflict settings, we must recognize the thin line between traditional peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding. Through the rapid deployment of peacebuilding agents, we can lay the foundations for long-term peace, independent of external actors. Providing training for mission leadership and building national civilian capacity for achieving national ownership are also critical areas that require intense focus, as most States often lack national capacities in the aftermath of protracted conflict. Indeed, given the complexity of the threats to peace, there is an even greater imperative for the coordination of responses. A clear division of labour and accountability must be agreed, buttressed by a common strategic framework and aligned with the objectives of each peacebuilding exercise.

In addition, I wish to emphasize the critical need for collaboration between the United Nations and the regional and subregional organizations within the geographical zones of the countries on the PBC agenda. The contributions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union in peacebuilding in their various regions have been very remarkable and enormous.

Turning specifically to Guinea-Bissau, we can say that the security sector reform programme is absolutely central to that country's return to stability. While the ECOWAS road map has been proven to be an important rallying point, the country needs continued technical and financial assistance in the implementation of the road map's steps. Therefore, all stakeholders must remain resolute in our support of the Guinea-Bissau Government.

As was discussed in the Council only last Friday (see S/PV.6642), women must play a central role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Indeed, there is an urgent need to enhance the mobilization of resources available for initiatives to mainstream women in peacebuilding activities, in order to address their peacebuilding needs, promote gender equality and empower women in peacebuilding contexts.

We want to call on all stakeholders in the peacebuilding effort to remain focused on all that can be achieved in the long term through a sustained commitment and indeed a collective and sustained effort.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council. There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6644

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6644**th meeting

Monday, 31 October 2011, 3 p.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mrs. Ogwu | (Nigeria) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Li Baodong |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Kumar |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Assaf |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Pankin |
| | South Africa | Mr. Laher |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Ms. Sheard |
| | United States of America | Mrs. DiCarlo |

## Agenda

The situation in Libya

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11-57144 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Libya**

**The President**: Under rule 37 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Libya to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2011/670, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Nigeria, Portugal, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour*:

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, China, Colombia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal, Russian Federation, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President**: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2017 (2011).

I now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the vote.

**Mr. Wittig** (Germany): Germany voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by this Council, resolution 2017 (2011).

We appreciate the initiative of the Russian Federation for taking up this important issue. The proliferation of all arms and related material of all types from Libya to the region is an issue of utmost concern to all of us. Resolution 2017 (2011) rightly addresses man-portable air defence systems (MANPADS) and other small arms and light weapons, chemical weapons and materiel of all types.

It is our understanding that the latter reference covers nuclear and radiological materiel, and we believe that the International Atomic Energy Agency, like the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, should have a crucial role to play in this regard. In this context, Germany is planning to give technical support to a mission of inspectors of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons to Libya. Germany is also closely cooperating with partners on how to secure MANPADS and other small arms and light weapons.

In paragraph 5, resolution 2017 (2011) stipulates a reporting mechanism on the assessment of the threats and challenges posed by the proliferation of all arms and related materiel of all types. The Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), with assistance from its Panel of Experts, is requested to submit a report to the Council in this regard.

As is well known, Germany is of the view that, as a matter of principle, independent panels of experts should report directly to the Council. Most of the panels of experts established by the Council, including that established under resolution 1973 (2011) and referred to in paragraph 5 of today's resolution, report directly to the Council. In order to preserve their independence, panels of experts should not be requested to report through committees. The independent expertise of the panels should be leant directly to the decision-makers in the Council without being subject to pre-examination by subsidiary organs. Germany would have preferred a reporting mechanism under today's resolution that would have allowed the Panel of Experts to report directly to the Council.

**Mr. Pankin** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The principal aim of resolution 2017 (2011), drafted by the Russian Federation and adopted today, is to curb the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons of all kinds and related materiel as a result of the Libyan conflict. Any serious breach of the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council is likely to destabilize the entire region. The Libyan authorities must assume the main responsibility for this task, but it is clear that an effective resolution of the problem will require the constructive cooperation of Libya's neighbours and the international community as a whole. We are convinced that consolidated efforts in this area would be in the interest of all.

In drafting the resolution, we could not fail bear in mind the great threat posed by Libyan weapons, in particular man-portable air defence systems, falling into the hands of terrorist groups that are highly active in the region. In that regard, civil aviation is equally at risk. That is why the resolution assigns an active role to the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate and the International Civil Aviation Organization.

We welcome the consensus adoption of resolution 2017 (2011).

**The President**: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 3.15 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6645

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6645**th meeting

Monday, 31 October 2011, 3.15 p.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mrs. Ogwu | (Nigeria) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Li Baodong |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Kumar |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Karev |
| | South Africa | Mr. Laher |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Tatham |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

Peace and security in Africa

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-57150 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Peace and security in Africa**

**The President**: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2011/673, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Gabon, Germany, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour*:

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, China, Colombia, France, Gabon, Germany, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal, Russian Federation, South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

**The President**: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2018 (2011).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 3.20 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6646

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6646**th meeting

Monday, 31 October 2011, 3.20 p.m.

New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mrs. Onwuliri | (Nigeria) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Yang Tao |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Kumar |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Portugal | Mr. Cabral |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Karev |
| | South Africa | Mr. Laher |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Tatham |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

The situation in Somalia

Report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Somali natural resources and waters (S/2011/661)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1950 (2010) (S/2011/662)

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11-57156 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Somalia**

**Report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Somali natural resources and waters (S/2011/661)**

**Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1950 (2010) (S/2011/662)**

**The President**: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Tayé-Brook Zerihoun, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw Council members' attention to document S/2011/661, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the protection of Somali natural resource and waters, and to document S/2011/662, which contains the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1950 (2010).

I now give the floor to Mr. Zerihoun.

**Mr. Zerihoun**: I am pleased to introduce the annual report of the Secretary-General on piracy off the coast of Somalia (S/2011/662), as well as his report on the natural resources and waters of Somalia (S/2011/661).

Let me begin with the report on piracy off the coast of Somalia. The Secretary-General stresses in the report that piracy and armed robbery continue to adversely affect not only regional economies in East Africa but also the global economy. The international community has responded with an unprecedented effort to counter piracy, including through a naval presence off the coast of Somalia that has resulted in a reduction in the incidence of piracy at sea in the region. More and more pirates are being arrested and prosecuted. Information-sharing and coordination have also improved.

The Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia continues to play a key role in this regard. A new and promising initiative is the tracking of financial flows and targeting of leaders and masterminds of piracy. The efforts being made to establish a framework to regulate the use of private armed guards on board vessels transiting off the coast of Somalia are noteworthy, and have underscored the importance of and need for close monitoring of the issue to ensure appropriate regulation and accountability.

The international naval presence has allowed the delivery of much-needed humanitarian assistance. Since the international escort system for ships carrying World Food Programme (WFP) food began in November 2007, not a single WFP-chartered vessel has been attacked, although there have been two unsuccessful attempts on vessels carrying supplies for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The sea-based transport routes for humanitarian and peacekeeping assistance are crucial to maintaining a vital lifeline for Somalia. In that regard, the European Union, NATO and Member States have played a commendable role in participating in the protection at sea of World Food Programme shipments and deliveries contracted by the United Nations Support Office for AMISOM.

Despite these unprecedented efforts, attempts to suppress pirate attacks off the Horn of Africa remain insufficient. Somali pirates have expanded their operations well into the Indian Ocean. According to the International Maritime Organization, 316 people and 15 vessels were being held hostage as of early October. The pirates' technical capacities have increased, and they have become more violent. Many young Somalis continue to be willing to take the risk of becoming criminals at sea.

Another cause for concern is reports of links between pirates and Al-Shabaab. The law-enforcement measures commendably taken by some regional authorities in Somalia have had the unintended consequence of pushing pirate dens, with their lucrative business model, further south, including into areas that are under Al-Shabaab's influence. While it is still unclear who is behind the kidnappings in Kenya, the increasing links between Al-Shabaab and pirates indicate that the problem of piracy may be mutating. Somali piracy could also be inspiring attacks elsewhere on the world's shipping lanes, particularly in the Gulf of Guinea.

It is important, as the Secretary-General stresses in his report and has reiterated on several occasions,

that Member States and international actors solve the piracy problem in the context of the overall solution in Somalia. The fight against piracy off the coast of Somalia can only be won through an integrated strategy that tackles deterrence, security, the rule of law and development. Counter-piracy efforts should be an integral element of the Somali peace process. The inclusion of counter-piracy benchmarks in the recently agreed road map to end the transition in Somalia is a positive development. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia is playing a key role in helping to integrate these efforts, including those related to counter-piracy.

Key targets in the road map to be achieved during the transition period include the appointment of a single minister to coordinate the Transitional Federal Government's (TFG) counter-piracy efforts; the development of a counter-piracy strategy in common with other regions and administrations; the drafting and adoption of a counter-piracy law; and the proclamation of a Somali exclusive economic zone. That last measure will contribute to addressing potential illegal fishing and dumping of waste. It will also help clarify the legal basis for the protection of Somalia's sovereign rights with respect to natural resources and its jurisdiction over the maritime environment. The declaration of an exclusive economic zone is one of the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report on the natural resources and waters of Somalia, to which I will return a little later.

The number of States undertaking prosecution of those suspected of acts of piracy is increasing, as is the number of prosecutions. The Secretary-General applauds the countries currently shouldering that burden. However, as noted in the Secretary-General's report, a large number of individuals suspected of acts of piracy are still not prosecuted for a variety of legal, practical and political reasons.

Further efforts are needed to ensure that suspected pirates can be prosecuted when sufficient evidence is available. The Trust Fund to Support Initiatives of States Countering Piracy off the Coast of Somalia has proven to be a useful instrument for prosecution-related initiatives. The Secretary-General encourages Member States and the maritime industry to contribute generously to that Trust Fund.

Contributing Member States and multinational organizations may also consider how their efforts could further address the root causes of piracy, including through the development of land-based initiatives to strengthen Somali and regional maritime and law enforcement capacities. This must be linked to the broader efforts to develop Somalia's justice and security sectors. While we should not lose sight of the overall goal, it may also be worth looking at interim objectives. They include developing Somali capacity to deal with piracy on land and in close inshore waters through the establishment of coast guard capacity in the region.

The Somali people, especially the youth, need greater incentives not to succumb to the lure of piracy. Economic rehabilitation and the creation of alternative livelihoods, especially the development and rehabilitation of coastal fisheries, must be at the centre of efforts to fight piracy. But as long as piracy is lucrative, alternative livelihood options will be a hard sell. The payment of ransoms is putting more lives at risk, and the money that flows into the Somali economy through that channel is making the overall goal to find a solution in the country more and more difficult to achieve.

With respect to Somalia's natural resources and waters, the Secretary-General states in his report that the overall evidence of illegal fishing and toxic waste dumping, as well as their alleged links to piracy activities, require further investigation. At the same time, it is important to use every opportunity to draw attention to the need to protect Somalia's natural resources and prevent their illegal and unregulated exploitation.

The road map to end the transition period in Somalia outlines important measures that would address some of those challenges, including the declaration by the Transitional Federal Government of an exclusive economic zone. Somalia is urged to accede to the international legal framework under the purview of the International Maritime Organization. It also needs to adopt the appropriate legal framework to address all aspects of maritime law enforcement and to develop a fishing industry. However, it is equally important that efforts continue in support of the Somali Government with a view to reforming its security sector in order to expand and strengthen its capacity to implement international agreements on environmental issues. It will also be important for Member States to investigate allegations of illegal fishing and dumping, and to prosecute perpetrators when such offences are

committed by persons or entities under their jurisdiction.

The Secretary-General states in his report that the United Nations will do its utmost to assist the Transitional Federal Government and the regional authorities of Puntland, Somaliland and Galmudug, as requested, in order to address those challenges. It is important that the issue of Somalia's natural resources be addressed simultaneously at the national and regional levels. The Kampala Process dialogue forum should be used by Somalis for such collaboration. The report stresses the need for a strategic environmental assessment of Somalia, which would be carried out by the United Nations in partnership with the Government and in collaboration with the relevant organizations.

Finally, the Secretary-General stresses that the fate of the hundreds of kidnapped victims who are still in the hands of pirate criminals, most often in difficult and inhumane conditions, should remain an issue of priority concern. In that regard, he notes that it is encouraging that the effort to secure the release of hostages is broad-based and includes Somali authorities, Governments, industry and the United Nations.

**The President**: I thank Mr. Zerihoun for his briefing.

There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 3.35 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6647

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

## 6647th meeting

Wednesday, 2 November 2011, 3 p.m.
New York

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mr. Moraes Cabral | (Portugal) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Wang Min |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Briens |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Salam |
| | Nigeria | Mrs. Ogwu |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Karev |
| | South Africa | Mr. Sangqu |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Sir Mark Lyall Grant |
| | United States of America | Ms. Rice |

## Agenda

The situation in Libya

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11-57695 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.*

**Expression of thanks to the retiring President**

**The President**: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of November, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Her Excellency Mrs. U. Joy Ogwu, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for her service as President of the Security Council during the month of October. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Ogwu and her delegation for the great diplomatic skill with which they conducted the Council's business last month.

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Libya**

**The President**: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Libya to participate in this meeting.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Mr. Moreno-Ocampo.

**Mr. Moreno-Ocampo**: It is my honour to brief the Security Council on the activities of the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court on the situation in Libya in furtherance of resolution 1970 (2011).

In accordance with Office policy, the Prosecution has been focusing its investigations on those bearing the greatest responsibility for the most serious crimes committed in Libya. Let me stress that the Security Council consensus on the need to ensure justice for the victims of crimes in Libya, as expressed through resolution 1970 (2011) and reiterated at the meeting at which I first briefed the Council on this matter two months after its adoption (see S/PV.6528), has greatly contributed to the cooperation received by my Office and facilitated our investigations.

As I anticipated in my previous briefing, on 16 May the Office of the Prosecutor requested arrest warrants against three individuals who, according to the evidence, were most responsible for the attacks against unarmed civilians on the streets and in their homes in Benghazi, Tripoli and other cities in Libya during the month of February.

After a thorough evaluation of the evidence presented, on 27 June the Judges of Pre-Trial Chamber I issued arrest warrants for Muammar Al-Qadhafi, Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi, and Abdullah Al-Senussi for murder and persecution as crimes against humanity under articles 7(1)(a) and 7(1)(h) of the Rome Statute, respectively.

The Chamber concluded that there were reasonable grounds to believe that Muammar Al-Qadhafi and Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi were jointly responsible as principals in the crimes pursuant to article 25(3)(a) of the Statute, as indirect co-perpetrators of the crimes against humanity. The Chamber found that Abdullah Al-Senussi was also responsible as a direct perpetrator.

Allow me now to update the Council on the current situation of the three indictees.

On 20 October, Muammar Al-Qadhafi died. The Registry of the Court is following the formal procedures required to obtain official documents from the Libyan Government to certify his death. The Pre-Trial Chamber, after reviewing the documents, may decide to withdraw the warrant against Muammar Al-Qadhafi and to end the case against him.

Concerning Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, the Office is galvanizing efforts to ensure that they face justice. We have received questions from individuals linked to Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi about the legal conditions attaching to his potential surrender to the Court, namely, what would happen to him if he appeared before the judges, whether he could be sent back to Libya, and what would happen if he were to be convicted or acquitted. We clarified that, in accordance with article 107 of the Rome Statute, he may request the judges not to order his return to Libya after his conviction or acquittal, but that he be sent to a different country, provided that that country has consented to receiving him. The judges can also decide whether he may be extradited to another State. I believe that it is a positive sign that the Court is seen as a guarantor of the rights of the suspects.

On the other hand, we are also receiving information that a group of mercenaries may be endeavouring to facilitate Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi's escape from Libya. We are calling upon States to do all they can to disrupt any such operation. It is up to Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi to decide if they will surrender, remain in hiding or try to escape to another country. It is up to the Security Council and States to ensure that they face justice for the crimes for which they are charged.

We are grateful for the strong and essential cooperation received from the Libyan authorities, including a recent invitation to visit Libya. Over this past weekend, the Office conducted its first assessment mission in Libya in order to prepare for the collection of further evidence in the territory where the alleged crimes took place. The Office coordinated with local authorities and local civil society. The Office met with various local committees mandated to investigate crimes committed by different parties in Libya.

The current focus of the investigations is twofold. First, it continues the collection of evidence against Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi in preparation for their eventual trial. Secondly, the Office is continuing its investigations into gender crimes committed in Libya.

The Office will continue to search out the personal assets of Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi for the potential benefit of the victims, through reparations awarded by the Court. Since the opening of the investigation, the Office has been in contact with the Sanctions Committee, which is assisted by a Panel of Experts, and with INTERPOL to coordinate its investigative efforts in relation to the personal assets of the suspects. In late September, the Court sent requests for assistance to Libya, States parties and five Security Council non-State parties to identify, trace, seize and freeze all the personal assets of the suspects. The Office encourages the Security Council and States to assist the Court in identifying and freezing these assets.

With respect to the second aspect of the investigation, the Prosecution is mindful that, in Libya, rape is considered to be one of the most serious crimes, affecting not just the victim, but also the family and the community, and can trigger retaliation and honour-based violence. Accordingly, the Prosecution has adopted a strategy that seeks to limit the exposure of victims. The Office is organizing its investigation by focusing on obtaining alternate evidence and identifying avenues of investigation that support charges without the need for multiple victim statements.

In this respect, the Prosecution has been in contact with different sources reporting multiple victims of sexual violence allegedly committed by Al-Qadhafi security forces. While it is premature to draw conclusions about specific numbers, the information and evidence indicate at this stage that hundreds of rapes occurred during the conflict. The investigation will benefit from a reporting system that has been set up by the Libyan authorities through the Ministry of Women's and Social Affairs, with the purpose of affording rape victims the opportunity to come forward.

The Office of the Prosecutor has also interviewed a limited number of victims who were kidnapped and raped in unknown, secret detention centres. The information and evidence thus far collected do not yet indicate who may be most responsible for such gender crimes. We have some evidence showing that commanders gave orders to commit rape in the Western Mountains area and our screening of possible witnesses indicates that Muammar Al-Qadhafi himself, Al-Senussi and other high officials were discussing the use of rape to persecute those considered dissidents or rebels.

In conclusion, there are allegations of crimes committed by NATO forces; allegations of crimes committed by forces of the National Transitional Council, including the alleged detention of civilians suspected to be mercenaries and the alleged killing of detained combatants; and allegations of additional crimes committed by Al-Qadhafi forces. These allegations will be examined impartially and independently by the Office.

The Office has been informed that the new Libyan authorities are in the process of preparing a comprehensive strategy to address these allegations, including the circumstances surrounding the death of Muammar Al-Qadhafi. In accordance with the Rome Statute, the International Criminal Court should not intervene if there are genuine national proceedings. Should the Libyan authorities decide to prosecute the case we are investigating — that of Saif al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi — for the same

crimes, they should submit an admissibility challenge, and it will be for the International Criminal Court's judges to decide.

In assessing the situation, the Office will benefit from the work of the United Nations Commission of Enquiry, which should present a report in March 2012. The Office is coordinating with Commission Chairperson Philippe Kirsch. At its third briefing to the Security Council in May 2012, the Office will be prepared to present to the Security Council a comprehensive report on the crimes allegedly committed by the different parties in Libya since 15 February 2011 and the existence of genuine national proceedings.

In summary, the Office will continue investigations into Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi and into rapes. As I have said, in May we will present a comprehensive analysis of the crimes allegedly committed and on the possibility for further investigations. I should clarify that the possibility of carrying out all of these investigations will depend on the budget available to the Office. This is a matter currently under discussion and will be decided in December 2011 at the upcoming session of the Assembly of States Parties.

**The President**: I thank Mr. Moreno-Ocampo for his briefing.

I now give the floor to the members of the Council who wish to make statements.

**Mr. Osorio** (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): At this, your first meeting as President of the Council, I should like to welcome you, Sir, and to offer you our full cooperation towards the success of your work. I also extend special thanks to Ambassador Joy Ogwu for her outstanding work and wisdom in leading the Council last month.

I warmly thank the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, for his exhaustive second briefing on the implementation of the relevant provisions of resolution 1970 (2011) and for the additional information with which he has provided the Council today. His account of his work and his meticulous and conscientious attention to detail demonstrate that the Court is acting in great earnest.

Clearly, both the Office of the Prosecutor and the Pre-Trial Chamber have acted speedily and effectively during the first stage of the procedures arising from the Council's referral of the case to the Court in resolution 1970 (2011). We note that three cases have been opened charging murder and political persecution committed, according to the Prosecution, in the course of attacks on the civilian population in pursuit of State policy. Those are therefore crimes against humanity for which the individuals in question should be held criminally responsible, and the international community has shown a willingness to do so.

Investigations are continuing in other areas. In particular, the Office of the Prosecutor is considering the possibility of investigating accusations in connection with gender-related crimes and war crimes, which could give rise to new proceedings as a result of the events that occurred in Libya. My delegation believes that an essential part of this stage of the process is the necessary cooperation with the International Criminal Court of all actors involved, especially the new authorities in Libya. The second report of the Prosecutor contains important and encouraging references to the positive attitude in this regard on the part of both the States parties to the Rome Statute and other international bodies such as Interpol and United Nations commissions of inquiry.

We deem it of the utmost importance that those Governments that are the recipients of specific requests for cooperation with regard to goods and monies obtained through illicit activities respond rapidly to such requests. Such information could be vital to the conclusion of open investigations and could have serious ramifications in terms of the payment of reparations to victims, as is provided for under the Rome Statute.

We welcome the statements made by the new Libyan authorities with regard to their willingness to cooperate with the Office of the Prosecutor and their involvement in the important task of preserving evidence. It is now up to States to take the relevant measures to ensure that those accused who remain at large are apprehended.

As we stated at the meeting held last May, when the first report of the Prosecutor's Office with regard to the situation in Libya was presented, the arrest of those accused and their surrender to the ICC for trial is the way to implement the decision taken by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus any failure to implement those measures would negatively affect the authority and credibility of the Council itself.

**Ms. Rice** (United States of America): Let me join my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on taking over the presidency of the Council. We look very much forward to working with you and with your delegation throughout the month. We have every confidence in your able leadership. I also want to join others in paying great tribute to Ambassador Ogwu and the delegation of Nigeria for their exceptionally skilful and wise management of the Council in the complex month of October.

I should like to begin by thanking the Prosecutor for his informative briefing and for his important contributions to laying the foundation for seeking the justice that Libyans so deserve. The Security Council's decision to refer the situation in Libya to the Prosecutor reflected the importance that the international community attaches to ensuring accountability for the widespread and systematic attacks against the Libyan people that began in the dark days of February. Resolution 1970 (2011), adopted even as atrocities were being perpetrated, represented a historic milestone in the fight against impunity. Justice and reconciliation efforts will be critical components of a successful transition that allows all of Libyan society to leave behind what has been in many, many respects a tragic and bloody past.

An effective criminal justice system with a competent judiciary and safeguards to guarantee humane treatment and due process is crucial to the future of Libya. The new Government must ensure that the rule of law, treatment safeguards and due-process protections are firmly in place. Helping the National Transitional Council (NTC) implement its commitments to respect human rights and to proper detention procedures that meet Libya's international obligations must be a very high priority. We emphasize the importance of ensuring that the human rights of all in Libya, including former regime officials and detainees, are fully respected during and after this transition period.

The victims of Al-Qadhafi's terrorism and their families in Libya and in the United States now know definitively that the era of Al-Qadhafi's violence has ended. Al-Qadhafi engaged in countless barbaric acts, but this does not and cannot justify the apparently brutal way in which he met his death. We welcome the NTC's announcement of an investigation into Al-Qadhafi's death and will look to it to follow through by undertaking an effective inquiry.

Independent and impartial investigations into abuses committed in Libya on both sides are the first step in fulfilling the NTC's commitments to accountability and laying a foundation for a transition that embraces the rule of law. We remain deeply troubled by reports, including those mentioned by the Prosecutor, that sub-Saharan African migrants and others detained in ad hoc jails are being abused. Continued support by the international community, including through the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, will be vital to helping the Libyan people achieve the future they seek.

We must now move together to support the creation of an inclusive and democratic State in which Libyans of all backgrounds have a future and an opportunity to participate in the rebuilding of their country. We welcome the Prosecutor's report that the NTC is fully cooperating with his investigation, in accordance with resolution 1970 (2011), and we encourage other States in which individuals subject to International Criminal Court arrest warrants may be found to ensure that they are brought to justice. We encourage the Prosecutor to continue to consult with the NTC.

We urge the speedy apprehension of Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and of Abdullah Al-Senussi, who remain at large in the region. They must be brought to justice in a legitimate process governed by the rule of law. Ensuring justice for those who have endured unspeakable atrocities will be crucial to Libya's ability to emerge from the ashes of dictatorship to become a country in which all of its citizens enjoy the full protection of the rule of law.

**Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri** (India): At the outset, I would like to join others in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I would also like to take this opportunity to assure you and, through you, your delegation of my delegation's full cooperation in the discharge of your duties during the course of the month. I would like also to take this opportunity to thank the Permanent Representative of Nigeria, Ambassador Joy Ogwu, and her delegation for her successful stewardship of the work of the Council during the month of October. In addition, I would like to thank the Prosecutor, Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, for his briefing today. We have also taken note of his second report to the Security Council, submitted pursuant to paragraph 7 of resolution 1970 (2011).

Even at the risk of sounding repetitive, it is necessary to reiterate that India is not a signatory to the Rome Statute and not a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC), for reasons that are well known. It is also important to note that of the 193 Members of the United Nations, only 119 are States parties to the Rome Statute of the ICC. Five of the 15 members of the Council, including three permanent members, are not parties to the Statute. We do, however, support the rights and obligations of the States that are members of the ICC.

The situation in Libya has significantly changed since the Prosecutor's last report and his briefing to the Security Council. During the eight months of conflict in Libya, there were a large number of deaths and destruction on a massive scale. The proliferation of weapons has emerged as a major problem, posing a threat to the stability of Libya as well as to that of the larger region.

The time has come for the new authorities in Libya to exert their sovereignty and independence and undertake an inclusive political process aimed at achieving national reconciliation, peace, security and stability in the country. The international community, including the Security Council and the ICC, should fully assist the Libyan authorities in that process. That inclusive approach to national reconciliation, anchored in State sovereignty, is the only way to overcome the multitude of problems that Libya faces in the present ostensible post-conflict scenario.

We have noted that the ICC Prosecutor's immediate goal is to complete the investigation into the alleged crimes against humanity and war crimes. The Prosecutor's Office is also making progress in the investigations on gender crimes and is examining information related to attacks on migrant workers. We expect that the Prosecutor will carry out a thorough and impartial investigation into all alleged crimes by all parties to the conflict in Libya. The Prosecutor must not be influenced by non-judicial considerations and must focus his attention solely on prosecution, without diversion due to extraneous considerations. All those responsible for committing crimes covered under the Rome Statute should be held accountable irrespective of which side to the conflict they may belong to. Political or other non-judicial considerations should not exonerate anybody from prosecution for the crimes committed.

Last but not least, it is also important to ensure that all actions by the ICC Prosecutor should fall strictly within the ambit of resolution 1970 (2011), in particular paragraph 6, which concerns the States that are not parties to the Rome Statute.

**Mr. Karev** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, like previous speakers, we would like to congratulate you and your team, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. We wish you success, especially given the very heavy agenda for the month of November. We are prepared to do everything we can to help you and your team to achieve success in the Council's work. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Permanent Representative of Nigeria and her team for their very successful conduct of the Council's deliberations in the month of October.

We thank Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo for his briefing on the investigation of the situation in Libya pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011). As we understood from his presentation, the International Criminal Court (ICC) is carrying out phased work on the investigation of actions committed by representatives of the Al-Qadhafi regime. We therefore welcome contacts by representatives of the ICC with some of the accused with regard to their voluntary surrender to the investigation. We regret the fact that Al-Qadhafi himself, who was cruelly killed on 20 October, will not be unable to say anything to ICC investigators. I should like to make the following additional points.

During the last briefing by the ICC Prosecutor, we said that the Court should carefully consider the actions of all parties in the Libyan conflict. We recall that, pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), the Council transferred the entire Libyan situation to the Court — not just the situation pertaining to the actions of the Al-Qadhafi regime.

The number of civilian casualties and the scale of the destruction of civilian sites as a result of the actions of all parties to the conflict in Libya is very great. Unfortunately, civilian casualties were also caused by the actions of known NATO coalition forces.

We cannot but be alarmed about the most recent information from Libya with regard to the uncovering of mass graves, of both rebels and supporters of Al-Qadhafi. It is our belief that all who are guilty of the most serious crimes under international law committed during the conflict in Libya will be

punished. We therefore welcome the statement issued by the National Transitional Council (NTC) in which it expresses its intention to conduct an investigation of the killing of Al-Qadhafi and his son Mutassim. However, we would like to emphasize that this is not an issue of just investigating those separate killings; it is a matter of a full-scale investigation of all other serious crimes. We hope that the NTC has enough determination and, more important, the necessary resources to impartially and conscientiously conduct such an investigation.

At the same time, we have nagging doubts that the conduct of such an investigation in an appropriate fashion can be possible, at least in the near future, in a country with a devastated State structure and in the virtual absence of normally functioning judicial and law enforcement bodies. It is in that regard that we see a substantive role for the ICC. We believe that the Court should carefully follow the pace of the investigation in Libya and provide it with active assistance. We believe that if, at some point, it becomes obvious that the Libyan side is for some reason not in a position to carry out such an investigation, then the ICC should step in and do so.

For our part, we are prepared to support the efforts of the ICC in undertaking a fair investigation of the actions of all parties to the Libyan conflict, so as to bring to justice individuals involved in potential crimes against humanity and serious violations of international humanitarian law in Libya.

**Mr. Briens** (France) (*spoke in French*): I would first of all like to congratulate you, Sir, and to express our best wishes for the success of your presidency. I also wish to thank Ambassador Ogwu and her entire team for their effective presidency in the month of October. I would also like to thank Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo for his report and briefing today. I should like to make three comments.

First, on resolution 1970 (2011), since mid-February of this year, in the face of the outrages committed by Libya's leaders, the League of Arab States, the African Union and the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation condemned the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. The Security Council itself, on 26 February, responded swiftly by unanimously adopting resolution 1970 (2011), which referred the situation in Libya to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC). When a Government attacks its own citizens, rather than protecting them, and when the crimes committed are an affront to the conscience of humankind and affect the stability of an entire region, the international community has the responsibility to intervene to protect civilians. That is what we did in Libya with resolution 1970 (2011). The imperative of ensuring justice, underscored in the resolution, continues to be valid today. That is true in the case of Libya just as it is for all countries in which civilians' aspiration to respect for their freedom and fundamental rights is met with repression on the part of authorities who ignore the calls of the international community. As the violence in Syria and Yemen continues, the Council must reiterate its message as to the primacy of law and the need to combat impunity in all cases, just as it did following the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire.

Secondly, with regard to the work of the International Criminal Court, following the adoption of resolution 1970 (2011), the Prosecutor mobilized his entire team and was able to complete his investigation in three months. On 16 May, he issued a request for three arrest warrants — against Muammar Al-Qadhafi, Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi. On 27 June, the Court's judges decided to issue those warrants for murder and persecution as crimes against humanity. The warrants detail the systematic attacks against civilians, the methods employed to crush any form of opposition — forced disappearance, arbitrary detention, torture — as well as the role of Muammar Al-Qadhafi and his circle in organizing the violence. The International Criminal Court, the sole permanent court of a universal character, was able to gather legal evidence of those acts even as the violence was taking place. It has therefore demonstrated its ability to react swiftly, thereby putting pressure on those organizing and carrying out the crimes. That is a message we should bear in mind. When faced with the commission of atrocities, the international community and the Security Council can turn to an impartial and independent judicial institution that can begin to work immediately to identify those primarily responsible for committing crimes. International justice henceforth has a role to play in deterring crimes both during and after a crisis. After the Libyan example, inaction is more inexcusable and intolerable than ever.

Lastly, with regard to the process, the judicial process is now under way and must follow its course.

Investigations must be carried out if necessary. I am thinking in particular about investigations concerning sexual violence, to which the Prosecutor referred. Also, as he explained, the ICC will pursue only the principals, those who organized and ordered crimes. The first of those, Muammar Al-Qadhafi, has been killed and will not be able to answer to justice. But the other two individuals who have been indicted, Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi, must turn themselves in or be arrested.

We welcome the good cooperation and dialogue between the Office of the Prosecutor and the Libyan authorities. In the light of the scale of the crimes committed and given the risk of violence still affecting the country, and to meet the aspirations of the whole of Libyan society for more law and justice, complementarity between the actions of the ICC and those of the new Libyan authorities will be essential.

France welcomes the fact that, in accordance with resolution 1970 (2011), States and regional organizations have offered the Prosecutor their full cooperation, thus enabling his investigation to progress rapidly. Today, two arrest warrants remain outstanding. The Council must continue to track the implementation of those warrants, and the entire international community — including, if necessary, States in the region — must assist the authorities and the Prosecutor to ensure that the two individuals concerned finally answer for their acts before the law.

**Mr. Barbalić** (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Allow me to join others in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council this month. At the same time, allow me to congratulate Nigeria for its excellent work in the presidency in October.

I wish to thank Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo for his briefing and to commend his continuous commitment to the interest of justice. We believe that, with our joint efforts, such determination can assist Libya in finding its way to a better future for its people.

At the same time, accounts from today's briefing, together with the report on the activities of the Office of the Prosecutor in the past six months, only reconfirm the disturbing facts we have heard from briefing to briefing.

Unfortunately, the present report is only one of many that evidence serious and continued violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law, including systematic violence against the civilian population in Libya. Findings of the Prosecutor's investigation, which was conducted in accordance with his mandate under resolution 1970 (2011), are deeply unsettling and have reinforced our conviction that the referral of the situation in Libya to the International Criminal Court (ICC) was timely and true to our commitments and obligations.

In that regard, my delegation welcomed the issuance of arrest warrants for those suspected of committing those crimes. Bosnia and Herzegovina has always strongly believed that addressing crimes and punishing those responsible is the main precondition for reconciliation and for sustainable and long-lasting peace and stability.

Given the dramatic way in which things have unfolded since the arrest warrants were issued, we hope now to see the people of Libya and the Transitional National Council (TNC) take responsibility for their future and their country. We therefore urge an independent and impartial investigation into circumstances surrounding the death of Muammar Al-Qadhafi and his son Mutassim. The rule of law must become a cornerstone of the newly rebuilt country. Justice must not become the privilege of a few, but a right for all.

It is our hope that the revolution in Libya will lead to fulfilment of the people's fair demands: a constitution that preserves the rights of all citizens and establishes the foundation of a civil State. To achieve that, it is crucial to address the grave atrocities and crimes committed. My country strongly supports the work of the Prosecutor and the ICC in ensuring justice for Libya's victims. In that context, we commend the pledge of the TNC authorities to cooperate with and support the Court.

Finally, I wish to underline Bosnia and Herzegovina's strong commitment to the ideas and goals of the ICC. It is our firm belief that through its work, the ICC can contribute greatly to peace and the process of reconciliation in Libya.

**Mr. Salam** (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. My delegation has confidence in your leadership abilities

and expertise. I also take this opportunity to thank Her Excellency Ambassador Ogwu and the Nigerian delegation for their wise leadership of the Council's work during the past month. I also wish to thank Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC), for his briefing. We appreciate his efforts and those of his Office to promote the rule of law.

We would recall that, at its emergency meeting convened in February, the Council of the League of Arab States condemned all actions against Libyan civilians as grave violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Subsequently, in resolution 1970 (2011), the Security Council referred the situation in Libya to the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC.

Lebanon therefore welcomes all measures taken by the Office of the Prosecutor over the past few months to address the serious crimes committed in Libya that can be classified as crimes against humanity following the outbreak of the revolution. We support the continued efforts to shed light on the facts in order to identify those criminally responsible, in particular with respect to the numerous cases of rape referred to in the report. We also support the efforts to arrest and bring to justice the two fugitives — Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi. The task of the International Criminal Court did not end with the demise of Muammar Al-Qadhafi.

Tribute must be paid to the constructive cooperation during the past few months by States, international and regional organizations and the National Transitional Council (NTC) with the Office of the Prosecutor, as indicated in the report. That cooperation has contributed to progress in the investigations. My country stresses the need for Libya's neighbouring countries to cooperate fully with the Court and with the Prosecutor pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) in order to prevent their territories from becoming safe havens for anyone who attempts to escape from justice.

Lebanon also commends the responsible call made by the Chair of the National Transitional Council, Mr. Mustafa Mohammed Abdul Jalil that the revolutionaries refrain from acts of reprisal against those who fought on the side of Al-Qadhafi. We commend as well the calls for Libyan authorities to provide impartial trials for those who have been detained. Justice alone will provide the proper terms of reference to set the record straight and guarantee accountability. The custodians of the revolution and the guardians of its lofty values and image must ensure that the practices of the former dictatorial regime related to arbitrary detention, torture and summary judgments are not repeated.

In conclusion, Lebanon believes that the Council has referred the Libyan situation to the ICC in order to prevent continued grave crimes against the Libyan people, who seek freedom and democracy. Now that liberty has been restored in Libya, Lebanon stresses the need to move forward towards the trial of those who have been responsible for grave violations. Accountability is the way to guarantee justice for the victims and to lessen their suffering and that of their families. It serves as a key tool in turning the page on an era of a culture of impunity. It also serves to deter such actions from taking place in the future. Lebanon congratulates sisterly Libya, which deserves a new dawn after a long chapter of darkness, injustice and impunity.

**Mrs. Viotti** (Brazil): Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council and to wish you every success. I would like also to express our great appreciation to Ambassador Joy Ogwu of Nigeria, and to her team, for the excellent conduct of our work in October.

Let me thank Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo for his informative briefing and for the second report pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011). Brazil renews its support for the Court and for the work of Mr. Moreno-Ocampo's office.

The situation in Libya has entered a new phase that is veering away from conflict and towards peace and reconciliation among Libyans. In that new phase, some of the principles that inspired the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC), namely, justice, accountability, non-discrimination and respect for the rule of law, will be fundamental to Libya. The role of the International Criminal Court will therefore be even more important in assisting Libya to bring about a truly democratic State that responds to the aspirations of the Libyan people for respect for human rights, a greater voice and representation for the people in their country's life, and enhanced opportunities.

Brazil welcomes the statements made by the National Transitional Council that stress the

importance of ensuring human rights, as well as the intent to avoid reprisals and acts of vengeance.

Tolerance and inclusiveness must mark the new era in Libya. We expect the new Libyan authorities to make every effort to bring the perpetrators of violations of human rights, regardless of their affiliation, to justice. Impunity must not be allowed to taint the transition. In that vein, reports of the arbitrary detention, torture and execution of Qadhafi loyalists must be investigated. Likewise, we are concerned by the circumstances that led to the death of Muammar Qadhafi. Brazil supports the call by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights for an investigation into that case.

We are encouraged by the news that Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo has been in indirect contact with Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi concerning his surrender. Such efforts must be continued in order to ensure that Mr. Saif Al-Islam Al-Gadhafi and Mr. Abdullah Al-Senussi are brought to trial.

We encourage the Prosecutor to proceed on all lines of investigation mentioned in the report, in particular those related to possible war crimes by all actors and the protection of vulnerable sectors of the population, including African migrant workers. The continuation of ICC investigations carried out with full independence and impartiality will be crucial in the post-conflict stage in order to ensure accountability and justice. Those are essential elements for reconciliation and the establishment of durable peace, which should be the Council's ultimate goal for Libya.

**Mr. Sangqu** (South Africa): We join others in expressing our congratulations to you, Mr. President, for assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of November. You have our full support. We also join in expressing our thanks to Ambassador Ogwu for the skilful manner in which she directed our affairs in the month of October. We also thank Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo for his progress report. We continue to support the Court's efforts to bring justice to the victims of atrocities committed in Libya.

We supported the referral of the situation in Libya to the International Criminal Court because of our long-standing commitment to the fight against impunity for serious crimes. When the Prosecutor presented his first report to the Council, we reminded him that justice is blind and requested that all atrocities committed in Libya since 15 February 2011 should be investigated and prosecuted if sufficient evidence is found.

The protection of civilians, which inspired the introduction of resolution 1970 (2011), should benefit all Libyans caught in the crossfire of the conflict in which that country found itself.

South Africa is concerned about reports from the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Libya into arbitrary mass arrests and mistreatment, in particular of black Africans suspected of being pro-Qadhafi mercenaries. We hope that the possible targeting of black Africans will receive due attention by the Office of the Prosecutor.

We have also noted with concern several reports by organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, to the effect that atrocities have been committed on both sides of the conflict. Just last week, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Libya provided information to the Council with respect to reports that killings among the duelling camps were committed by both sides in the final battle for Sirte. We are pleased that the National Transitional Council (NTC) has distanced itself from those atrocities and has expressed its intention to conduct investigations. That will be important for complementarity, which is important for the Court. It will, nonetheless, be necessary for the ICC investigations to convene.

We encourage the Office of the Prosecutor to convene new investigations into cases of sexual violence, including cases of gang rape. In that regard, we have noted with the United Nations Commission of Inquiry that, while the reports of rape could not be verified, there was sufficient information to warrant further investigations. We welcome the decision of the Office of the Prosecutor to conduct on-site investigations as well as the assurances of the NTC that it will fully cooperate.

We have taken note of the Prosecutor's progress report, especially in terms of the following issues: first, the contacts with Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi concerning his surrender; secondly, the progress in on-the-ground investigations that have been undertaken thus far; thirdly, the willingness of the Office of the Prosecutor to conduct investigations into the circumstances that led to the death of Muammar Qadhafi; and fourth, the need for comprehensive investigations into possible

further crimes committed by NATO, the NTC and pro-Qadhafi forces.

We look forward to your report in May, Sir.

**Ms. Ogwu** (Nigeria): Allow me, Mr. President, to convey the very warm congratulations of my delegation to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council and to assure you of our unalloyed support. We are also grateful to Mr. Moreno-Ocampo for his second report pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), which outlines the important progress made in the ongoing investigations in Libya.

Nigeria remains firmly committed to the fight against impunity and is supportive of the work of the International Criminal Court (ICC) aimed at ensuring that impunity is addressed decisively, wherever it occurs. We believe that the fight against impunity is the collective responsibility of States, the ICC and relevant stakeholders. It is imperative, therefore, for States to cooperate to ensure the realization of that objective. In that connection, we welcome the ICC's ongoing contact with the Libyan authorities. Of equal significance is the pledge by the National Transitional Council to cooperate with the Court to ensure justice for victims in Libya.

The work of the ICC is absolutely central to the restoration of stability of Libya, a nation not only in transition but one in search of healing. The systematic and widespread violations of human rights orchestrated by the former regime have no doubt left not only open veins but also physical and emotional scars in Libya. However, an objective, well managed investigation and prosecution will not only restore confidence to segments of Libya but should lead to national reconciliation, a crucial ingredient in national healing.

We are deeply concerned that the escape of the indictees from Libya could have significant security and political implications for neighbouring States in West Africa, especially Niger and Mali. Indeed, the countries of the Sahel region have already expressed great apprehension about the illegal movement of small arms and light weapons within the region. We cannot afford to see the Sahel region or neighbouring countries turn into bases from which subversive activities could be launched, maintained or sustained against the people of Libya and the region.

We note with satisfaction the cooperation extended to the ICC by States and regional and international organizations, pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 1970(2011), which has contributed in no small measure to the positive results achieved thus far in the investigations of the cases in Libya. We stress the need for continued cooperation with the Court, as that will help expedite completion of the current investigations. We encourage the ICC to be relentless in its collaboration with the United Nations Commission of Inquiry and the African Commission for Human and People's Rights in their work and to ensure that gender crimes and attacks on foreign nationals and black African migrants are appropriately addressed in their investigations.

We believe that, in the light of recent and evolving developments in Libya, the ICC and the Libyan authorities must work closely to develop ways and means of advancing the ongoing investigations with a view to providing justice to Libya's victims.

**Mr. Wang Min** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I also thank Ambassador Ogwu, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for her excellent conduct of the work of the Council as President during the month of October.

I have listened carefully to the briefing by Mr. Moreno-Ocampo. Libya has now entered a new historic stage. We hope that Libya will start an inclusive process of political transition as soon as possible, and that it will safeguard national unity and integrity, take early steps to achieve social stability and begin political and economic reconstruction. The international community should continue its joint effort in support of political transition and post-conflict reconstruction in Libya.

China's position on issues concerning the International Criminal Court remains unchanged.

**Mr. Wittig** (Germany): Let me join others in congratulating you and your team, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of November. We assure you of our firm support. Let me also commend and very warmly thank our colleague Ambassador Joy Ogwu for her able and wise stewardship of the Council during the previous month.

I would like to begin by expressing Germany's sincere appreciation for all the efforts undertaken by

the International Criminal Court (ICC), and personally by Mr. Moreno-Ocampo, to ensure the implementation of resolution 1970 (2011), notably through the Court's issuance of arrest warrants against Muammar Al-Qadhafi, Saif Al-Islam Al-Qadhafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi. The warrants testify to the determination of the international community not to let the commission of atrocities go unpunished, but to identify those individuals that are responsible under international criminal law.

Germany remains ready to support the ongoing investigations following requests for cooperation. We are also very encouraged by the current efforts of the Prosecutor to ensure the transfer of the remaining two indicted persons to The Hague. Just as the death of Colonel Al-Qadhafi marks the beginning of a new era for Libya, obtaining justice, respect for human rights and the rule of law must be at the forefront of our minds. Just last week, by adopting resolution 2016 (2011), the Council confirmed the importance of cooperation to ensure that those responsible for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law or those who are complicit in attacks targeting the civilian population are held accountable.

We call on the National Transitional Council to ensure independent and impartial investigations to establish the facts of the alleged human rights abuses and war crimes committed by both sides to the conflict. Transitional justice will be an important issue for the Libyan authorities. Dealing successfully with the issue will pave the way for national reconciliation.

At this time, we should also recall that the Council took a historic decision by unanimously adopting resolution 1970 (2011) and referring the situation in Libya to the ICC. The protection of civilians being its central idea, or leitmotif, the core message of the resolution is to remind the world of the responsibility of each and every State to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The significance of the message goes far beyond the context of Libya. It should be heard in other places where gross violations of human rights occur.

**Sir Mark Lyall Grant** (United Kingdom): At the outset, I would like to join my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I also join other speakers in thanking Ambassador Ogwu and her team for their wise stewardship of the Council last month. I would like to thank Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo for his report on the situation in Libya and the important information that he has shared with the Security Council this afternoon.

The conflict in Libya has ended. The National Transitional Council has announced the country's liberation. The Libyan people led that effort. Their sacrifice and determination brought about their freedom. The international community has also played its role, including by protecting civilians and supporting humanitarian aid, in accordance with the resolutions of the Council.

The Libyan people are now coming together to build a peaceful, democratic and prosperous new Libya. They now know that Al-Qadhafi will never again be able to threaten and brutalize them and their country. We hope that that will bring relief to the Libyans who suffered under his rule and to the victims of his actions abroad. To demonstrate their clear break from the past, Libya's authorities should continue to speak out against reprisals and should hold those guilty of abuses to account. In that regard, we welcome the National Transitional Council's investigation into the circumstances of Al-Qadhafi's death.

The developments in Libya should give all Governments reason to pause before using violence against their own people. The international community will ensure that responsible individuals within such Governments are held to account, either in their own courts or in international courts such as the International Criminal Court (ICC). Impunity is no longer tolerable. In that context, the Government of Syria ought to be aware that the eyes of the world are upon it.

The United Kingdom is a strong supporter of the Court. It played a leading role in securing the unanimous adoption of resolution 1970 (2011), which referred the situation in Libya to the Court. The Council's swift and decisive action in that resolution was matched by the work of the Prosecutor and his Office in paving the way for arrest warrants to be issued within four months. Their conduct of the case so far has set new standards for international criminal justice. I would like to thank him and his staff for their efforts to bring justice to the victims of atrocities in Libya.

Of course, the ICC's investigation into the situation in Libya does not end with the death of Al-Qadhafi. Two arrest warrants for individuals suspected of crimes against humanity are still outstanding. As Mr. Moreno-Ocampo has explained this afternoon, the ICC is conducting other investigations, including into the circumstances of Al-Qadhafi's death. Saif Al-Islam and Abdullah Al-Senussi remain at large and must be brought to face justice before a court of law.

To accomplish that goal, the ICC needs the cooperation of States. The authorities of the United Kingdom have played a part in the ICC's investigations so far by providing the fullest support, as and when requested, to the Prosecutor and his team of investigators. We call on the Libyan authorities to continue their full cooperation with the ICC as it pursues its investigations. We would also encourage Libya's neighbours to do the same, including by arresting and surrendering the two indictees, should they be found on their territory.

**Mr. Messone** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): We, too, would like to express our satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, preside over the work of the Council for the month of November. We also take this opportunity to heartily congratulate Ambassador Joy Ogwu for the remarkable way in which she led our efforts last month.

We thank the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Mr. Moreno-Ocampo, for his second report under paragraph 7 of resolution 1970 (2011) and for the additional information that he has just given us following his recent visit to Libya. The Prosecutor's briefing demonstrates the commitment to shed light on the crimes committed in Libya by the former regime. We would recall that on 27 June arrest warrants were issued against three individuals alleged to be guilty of widespread and systematic attacks against the civilian population.

We note and we welcome the independence and impartiality with which the Court is conducting its proceedings. It is important that the Court be perceived as being the guarantor of the rights of everyone, including suspects. Likewise, we note that the ongoing investigations cover the issues of violence against women, indemnification and victim protection. We also note that the Office of the Prosecutor is dealing with acts of violence committed by forces loyal to the National Transitional Council. Gabon, a country that has always fought against impunity in all its forms, hopes that the criminals in Libya will be prosecuted so as to create the conditions necessary for peace, justice and lasting reconciliation.

We note the commitment of the new authorities in Libya to ensure justice with regard to crimes committed in Libya, especially in Benghazi, Misrata and Tripoli. Beyond specific ongoing procedures, the efforts of the authorities and of the Security Council must seek to shed light on serious crimes committed all over Libya, including against foreign workers, in particular migrant workers from sub-Saharan Africa. It is important that the Office of the Prosecutor have all that it needs to conduct its investigations.

We encourage the Prosecutor to work closely with Libyan authorities and the International Independent Commission of Inquiry set up by the Human Rights Council, as well as to cooperate with regional organizations and Libya's neighbouring States. The Court's action could help improve security in the region. We assure the Prosecutor that the Gabonese Government is prepared to cooperate in its efforts in Libya.

We would also like to recall the responsibility of the new Libyan authorities to fully cooperate with the Court, in accordance with the obligations they have undertaken. In conclusion, Libya is now undergoing a historic transition. The Security Council and the international community, which have supported the significant changes that have taken place in the country, should encourage the Libyan authorities to base their new institutions on respect for the rule of law and democratic values. In that respect, we very much welcome the commitments undertaken by the authorities to establish conditions favourable to the emergence of a country committed to the rule of law.

**The President**: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Portugal.

I wish once again to express Portugal's deep appreciation to Ambassador Ogwu and her team for the very skilful and efficient way she conducted the Council's business during the month of October. I wish, of course, to thank my colleagues for their kind words of support in connection with our tenure in the presidency.

I thank the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Mr. Moreno-Ocampo, for his report and comprehensive briefing today. I also want to commend him for the investigative work under way, for the efforts that his Office is undertaking and for the information provided on the recent mission to Libya and its contacts with the National Transitional Council.

We welcome Libya's announcement to submit to an Independent Commission of Inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the death of Muammar Al-Qadhafi. We are concerned by reports concerning violent acts of retaliation, persecution and revenge in recent days in different parts of the country. We strongly believe that accountability for all violations of human rights must be ensured. In that context, we must stress the need to protect migrants, in particular from the sub-Saharan region, from violence and persecution.

We express our full support to the Office of the Prosecutor for the continuation of the investigation efforts, and we commend the support by States and organizations in those endeavours to assist the Prosecution.

Finally, we look forward to the report to be presented early next year by the United Nations International Commission of Inquiry established by the Human Rights Council. We expect that the Office of the Prosecutor will continue to closely liaise with the Commission.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Libya.

**Mr. Dabbashi** (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me, at the outset, to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that under your capable and wise leadership the Council will enjoy success in its efforts. I would also like to congratulate Ambassador Joy Ogwu, Permanent Representative of Nigeria, for the excellent way in which she led the work of the Council over that past month.

I also wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me an opportunity to address the Council at this meeting. Allow me also to reiterate my gratitude to the Security Council and the international community for their continued support to the Libyan people in their struggle for freedom, democracy and a life of dignity.

I would like to associate myself with th statements made by previous speakers in welcomin Mr. Luis Moreno-Ocampo, Prosecutor of th International Criminal Court (ICC). I thank him for hi valuable briefing and for the ongoing efforts by hir and his team to implement the mandate of the ICC a set forth in resolution 1970 (2011).

It has become evident to the Security Council an to the entire international community that sinc 15 February thousands of Libyans have been th victims of grave and horrible atrocities and crimes a the hands of Al-Qadhafi's forces and mercenaries According to the Rome Statute, such crimes should no be allowed to go unpunished, their perpetrators shoul not escape prosecution and impunity must be put to a end.

In that context, I would like to reiterate yet agai that the new authorities in Libya, which have emerge as a result of the revolution of the Libyan peopl against injustice, will give the highest priority to th achievement of justice, for there can be no securit without justice, and democracy, development and prosperity cannot be achieved without security.

To that end, the national transitional Governmen will take the appropriate legal measures to ensure tha all those involved in crimes not covered under the jurisdiction of the ICC are subjected to transparent investigations and given fair and just trials in Libyan courts. That will also include any transgressions or crimes that may have been committed against citizens of other countries in Libya.

The National Transitional Council and the future Government will continue to maintain consultations and close cooperation with the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC concerning the individuals against whom the ICC has issued arrest warrants, especially in efforts to gather and preserve evidence.

The second report of the Prosecutor, which has today been submitted to the Security Council, contains a summary of various important activities, including the issuance of arrest warrants, continued investigations and other future judicial actions. Libya greatly appreciates all those efforts, and calls on the Security Council to continue supporting them. We also ask for the cooperation of all States party and non-party to the Rome Statute of the ICC, in compliance with resolution 1970 (2011) and specifically paragraph 5 of that resolution. The report

mentions that the Office of the Prosecutor continues to receive international assistance. All that my country asks is that everyone, especially Libya's neighbouring States, continue to comply with the resolution and refrain from providing safe haven for any fugitives from Libya, whether they are wanted by the ICC or the Libyan judiciary.

In his briefing to the Council in May (see S/PV.6528), the Prosecutor emphasized the importance of international cooperation in the conduct and progress of judicial measures in Libya. Current judicial procedures include orders for the arrest of those involved in war crimes or crimes against humanity. Every State has a duty to assist in arresting such individuals and extraditing them for trial.

Libyan authorities have also found that other serious crimes were committed by members of the Al-Qadhafi family, high officials, mercenaries and members of Al-Qadhafi's security forces. Those crimes include theft of public funds, rape and extra-judicial killings and assassinations. Libyan judicial authorities are gathering evidence concerning these crimes, and will take the necessary legal steps against their perpetrators.

The Libyan authorities are determined to maintain the rule of law, fulfil all their obligations and arrest those charged with crimes who are on Libyan territory and bring them to justice. We are certain that this can be done through Libyan efforts. Nonetheless, as stated in the Prosecutor's report, Libya's efforts must be supported with appropriate coordination and information-sharing, as well as by efforts by every State to support the ICC and Libyan authorities in achieving that goal. I assure the Council that the new Libyan authorities have nothing to hide. They believe that achieving justice is a fundamental element in the creation of a secure, stable and prosperous democratic State. No one in the new Libya will have impunity for any crimes they may have committed.

It has often been said in the Chamber that justice cannot be separated from peace, and that peace, security and social stability cannot be achieved without subjecting those involved in grave crimes to transparent investigations and fair trials, with all due process and legal guarantees. We will work to achieve that. The establishment of peace in Libya, and indeed in the entire region, requires continued efforts on the part of the Security Council and all States to support efforts to achieve justice for the thousands of innocent Libyan victims. Primary among those efforts are those of the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICC. The Libyan authorities will continue to cooperate with the Prosecutor and provide him with all possible assistance and support in fulfilling his mandate.

**The President**: There are no further names inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

*The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6648

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6648**th meeting

Thursday, 3 November 2011, 10 a.m.
New York

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|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mr. Moraes Cabral | (Portugal) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Viotti |
| | China | Mr. Wang Min |
| | Colombia | Mr. Alzate |
| | France | Mr. Bonne |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Wittig |
| | India | Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri |
| | Lebanon | Mr. Assaf |
| | Nigeria | Mr. Onemola |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Zhukov |
| | South Africa | Mr. Sangqu |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Ms. Hendrie |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country (S/2011/655)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-57874 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in Guinea-Bissau**

**Report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country (S/2011/655)**

**The President**: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Angola and Guinea-Bissau to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Her Excellency Mrs. Helena Embaló, Minister of Economy, Planning and Regional Integration of Guinea-Bissau.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Her Excellency Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, in her capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/655, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Guinea-Bissau and on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in that country.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear briefings by Mr. Joseph Mutaboba and Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mutaboba.

**Mr. Mutaboba**: I am honoured to present to the Council the latest report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) (S/2011/655). I believe that this is a timely opportunity to share with the Council the most recent developments in Guinea-Bissau and review the current situation and the best course of action for future efforts to consolidate stability in the country, as this is our last meeting before the end of the current mandate of UNIOGBIS, in December this year. The national authorities, with the assistance of international partners, have continued to steer the country in the right direction and have consolidated important recent gains, resulting in a better political and security environment. There is nevertheless a need to continue to build upon these gains, as we gradually approach critical phases of the reform process that require strong international support, and as the country embarks on a sensitive electoral process in 2012.

UNIOGBIS has continued to support national efforts to effectively coordinate international assistance for credible security sector reform (SSR) under the principle of full civilian control of the military. In that context, significant work has been done to operationalize the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) road map for fast-tracking SSR. Following the approval of the document at the highest level by the three parties concerned — the Government of Guinea-Bissau, ECOWAS and the CPLP — a memorandum of understanding detailing the modalities governing the implementation of the road map on the ground is expected to be signed by the three parties in the coming weeks.

Throughout the negotiations between the three parties, UNIOGBIS was regularly consulted and insisted on the importance of framing the memorandum of understanding within the context of existing provisions related to the SSR implementation, including those deriving from Security Council resolutions and the outcome of the consultations between the European Union and the Government of Guinea-Bissau. In the meantime, it should be noted that the CPLP member States maintained their engagement in connection with the implementation of projects on the ground that are part of the road map and contribute to overall SSR efforts.

The delays in the disbursement of international financial assistance for the implementation of the road map, including the $63 million pledged by ECOWAS, remain a serious impediment to the activation of the pension fund scheme for the retirement of military and security personnel. The Government of Guinea-Bissau

has already contributed $200,000 to the pension fund and committed to providing an additional $300,000 before the end of the year. The Government contribution is the only disbursement made to the pension fund so far. Yet it is essential to guarantee the financial resources necessary to launch the fund without further delay, so as to allow for the expeditious rejuvenation of the military leadership and the enhancement of civilian oversight over the armed forces. In that context, I welcome the efforts made by the Peacebuilding Commission country-specific configuration to hold a high-level event to raise awareness about and seek the financial resources necessary for the pension fund scheme. I cannot stress enough the urgency of this matter.

In parallel, I am happy to report that the reform of the policing services has seen substantial progress. As a result of a thorough screening of police officers through the first phase of the vetting and certification process completed with the support of UNIOGBIS, the reformed police services will be free of personnel known to have demonstrated behaviour unfit for a police officer. The first model police station in Bissau is now operational. Its staff benefit from the advice of United Nations police officers co-located on its premises. Within the recently approved $16.8 million second allocation of the Peacebuilding Fund for Guinea-Bissau, $3 million will be allocated for the construction of an additional 12 model police stations throughout the country, which will contribute significantly to the modernization of policing in Guinea-Bissau and to the institutionalization of respect for the rule of law, for the first time in Guinea-Bissau's recent history.

With regard to efforts to fight impunity, progress has been conditioned not only by operational delays in the establishment of capable law-enforcement agencies, but also, and more importantly, by the increasing strategic need, or obligation, to strike a delicate balance between pushing for advancing the prevalence of the rule of law while at the same time not risking damaging the fragile stability in the country. While some positive work has been done in the development of the capacities of the various justice-sector actors and in establishing good practices of information-sharing among them, which has led to positive results, the 2009 high-profile political cases and related investigations remain to be concluded. Additionally, the recent changes at the helm of the Judiciary Police and the subsequent replacement of the Prosecutor-General, while generating a new momentum considering the commitment made by the newcomers to depoliticize the judiciary system, also created inevitable additional delays, in addition to the recent reshuffling in the key Government and judiciary system positions.

The opposition political parties recently organized a series of peaceful public demonstrations of protest calling for progress on these very same investigations. In this regard, UNIOGBIS played a significant role in ensuring that these demonstrations did not lead to further episodes of tension among key political and military actors in Guinea-Bissau. We believe that the chances of achieving concrete positive results in the fight against impunity and the consolidation of the rule of law in Guinea-Bissau, without jeopardizing the existing stability prevailing in the country, will benefit from a strong engagement of the international community in the process, including enhanced coordination among partners. The authorities of Guinea-Bissau, the opposition, civil society organizations and the population as a whole must feel reassured that the international community will neither tolerate further episodes of instability in the country nor accept that the perpetrators of serious crimes against the State remain unprosecuted. An important factor in achieving this will be for Guinea-Bissau's international partners to remain committed to advancing the institutional reforms envisaged in Security Council resolutions 1876 (2009) and 1949 (2010), including SSR and the establishment of political dialogue, while building the foundations for justice, the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Regarding the national conference, I am pleased to report that the preparatory phase — consisting in a series of eight sessions for the defence and security sectors, two conferences for the Guinea-Bissau diaspora in Africa and Europe, and 12 regional conferences — concluded at the end of October with the last sessions held in Bissau. An in-depth analysis and drafting of the results of the preparatory phases of the process is now under way, under the guidance of the organizing committee.

The national conference is scheduled to be held between 15 and 18 December. We will continue to assist the national authorities in the development of follow-up mechanisms to be established following the event in order to ensure continuity in the reconciliation

efforts by building upon the national conference process. The objective is also to guarantee an inclusive dialogue process open to all segments of society, notably the opposition parties not represented in Parliament, and to mainstream gender in this very promising process.

UNIOGBIS has also continued to provide support to the constitutional review process. The first phase of the assistance consisted in a series of efforts aimed at ensuring that those responsible for reviewing the Constitution are in a position to do so in a broadly informed manner. Consequently, the Parliamentary Commission for the Review of the Constitution established a drafting committee and appointed its members, whose work will count on the support of UNIOGBIS. In parallel, UNIOGBIS will also provide technical and financial support to efforts that will be carried out at the grass-roots level throughout the country with a view to disseminating the work being done and ensuring wide national ownership and popular buy-in to the new draft constitution. UNIOGBIS will also provide advice to the national authorities to help ensure that the constitutional review process remains non-partisan, particularly in light of the upcoming legislative elections, scheduled for 2012.

Drug trafficking and organized crime remain a constant threat to the fragile stability that Guinea-Bissau has enjoyed over the past 18 months, and bear the potential to compromise major reforms, including SSR. The efficient combat against drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau continues to be hampered by a variety of internal and external political and technical factors. Furthermore, the lack of reliable data on the actual quantities of drugs that transit through the national territory adds to the difficulties in addressing the matter with the national authorities. This aspect was discussed during Under-Secretary-General Fedotov's visit in Bissau on 27 October.

Increased international assistance and the partners' commitment remain imperative if we wish to see improved results in the fight against drug trafficking and organized crime in the country. Initiatives aimed at pooling the efforts of countries of origin, transit and destination of narcotics should continue and translate into concrete operational cooperation. The development and consolidation of regional initiatives, including the West Africa Coast Initiative, whose Programme Committee met in Bissau on 27 October, will also contribute significantly to the building of national capacities in Guinea-Bissau and countries of the subregion.

I have tried to describe today the crucial juncture we are approaching with our efforts to consolidate stability and create conditions for long-lasting development in Guinea-Bissau. Increasingly, strong, coordinated international support for the reform process is required, as is political backing for elected authorities. In this context, I would like to stress once again the cross-cutting dimension of the pension fund scheme and the progress that even a limited amount of funding could permit. Its quick operationalization will have impact not only on efforts to advance SSR, but also on our collective stabilization efforts, especially as the country prepares for legislative elections in 2012.

**The President**: I thank Mr. Mutaboba for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mrs. Viotti.

**Mrs. Viotti**: I am pleased to brief the Council in my capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission. I would like to extend a warm welcome to the Minister of Economy, Planning and Regional Integration of Guinea-Bissau, Her Excellency Ms. Maria Helena Nosolini Embaló.

I also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, for his briefing and for his work as head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS). I welcome Ambassador Ismael Gaspar Martins, Permanent Representative of Angola and Chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP).

Since I last briefed the Council (see S/PV.6569), I had the opportunity to visit Guinea-Bissau in early September. During my trip, I witnessed visible signs of progress, in terms of both stability and economic growth. The Government of Guinea-Bissau has made considerable efforts to implement key peacebuilding priorities in recent months. Concrete achievements in the realm of macroeconomic improvements, fiscal discipline and infrastructure development have induced an important virtuous circle, in spite of the difficult global economic environment.

On the political side, I was glad to note that stability is taking hold. The current Government has been the most stable and long-lasting since 1997. I also

noted, however, that most interlocutors continue to view stability as fragile. In this context, the full implementation of security sector reform (SSR) continues to be considered one of the highest priorities and a step that will greatly contribute to sustainable peace and development. Stability taking root is, of course, contingent upon achieving other peacebuilding priorities, notably upholding the rule of law, expanding job creation and combating organized crime, including illicit drug trafficking.

The urgency of focusing on SSR was widely recognized by all interlocutors during my visit. To this end, the launching of a pension fund for the armed forces and security forces personnel to be demobilized is regarded as an important instrument to assist the reform. This process, coupled with the training of the remaining contingent and the recruitment of new personnel, will gradually improve the professionalism of the armed forces and internal law enforcement personnel.

The road map on SSR developed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries offers a very relevant tool to support governmental SSR efforts. It makes those efforts part of a wider international cooperation framework, built through a tripartite dialogue among the Government of Guinea-Bissau, ECOWAS and CPLP. This commendable example of regional cooperation also enjoys the support of the Peacebuilding Commission.

The Government of Guinea-Bissau has already implemented some of the requested measures, such as instituting a follow-up committee on the pension fund, revamping the SSR national steering committee, and drafting a tripartite memorandum of understanding for the implementation of the joint ECOWAS/CPLP road map, which has been officially presented to ECOWAS and CPLP for comments. The negotiations on the memorandum of understanding are at an advanced stage, and its signature is expected soon.

Coinciding with my visit to Bissau, the Government deposited, on 2 September, a total of $200,000, as a first tranche of its initial contribution to the pension fund. The Government is also considering making an additional contribution by the end of this year. These are welcome signs of Guinea-Bissau's commitment and engagement in this process.

During my stay in Bissau, I felt that the Government is fully committed to SSR. It is now essential that the international community provide timely and steady support, in particular through technical expertise and financial resources, to make the pension fund operational. Although resources have been pledged, they have not yet been disbursed.

In this regard, the Government of Guinea-Bissau requested the assistance of the Peacebuilding Commission to organize a high-level event on SSR in New York by the end of this year. The holding of such a high-level meeting can contribute to building trust and to bringing international partners together to support Guinea-Bissau in addressing key peacebuilding challenges.

Members of the configuration have agreed that the Peacebuilding Commission should present a list of elements for the Government's consideration, to assist in the preparations for the proposed high-level event on security sector reform, especially on the operationalization of the pension fund. I wrote to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September, listing those elements for the Government's consideration.

I am pleased to say that progress has also been made in the fight against drug trafficking. The Government of Guinea-Bissau adopted the operational plan to combat drug trafficking. The Transnational Crime Unit (TCU) is operational and its Management Board has met regularly. INTERPOL has set up an office in Bissau. Continuing international cooperation will be needed to support the TCU in implementing its ongoing activities. The configuration also shares that concern, and intends to advocate for an increase in the financial resources disbursed in support of the West Africa Coast Initiative.

As I indicated previously, the Government of Guinea-Bissau has been able to achieve important progress in macroeconomic policy over the past few years. Improvements in the economic sector resulted from an exceptional cashew nut harvest, enhanced financial and fiscal discipline and the implementation of public work projects.

It is also worth noting that the Secretary-General has allocated up to $16.8 million from the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) to the implementation of the 2011-2013 Peacebuilding Priority Plan for Guinea-Bissau. Likewise, the PBF Joint Steering Committee

has approved the four draft projects jointly designed by the Government and the United Nations country team. Those projects focus on supporting security sector reform, promoting job creation as a peace dividend for youth and women, and boosting political dialogue and national reconciliation.

The Peacebuilding Commission continues to be committed to a proactive approach in its engagement with Guinea-Bissau. This will involve improving coordination efforts with other actors. The national authorities of Guinea-Bissau and international partners must work towards a deeper relationship of mutual commitment and trust, geared towards sustainable peace and development for Guinea-Bissau and the subregion. The international community should rise to the challenge of supporting the maintenance of political stability and economic progress that the country has experienced over the past few years.

We must take advantage of this positive momentum and persevere in our collective efforts to support Guinea-Bissau.

**The President** (*spoke in Portuguese*): I thank Mrs. Viotti for her briefing.

(*spoke in English*)

I now give the floor to Her Excellency Ms. Helena Embaló, Minister of Economy, Planning and Regional Integration of Guinea-Bissau.

**Ms. Embaló** (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by delegation*): The Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Mr. Carlos Gomes Júnior, asked me to send his warmest greetings to the Security Council and to convey to it the importance that we attach to this meeting of the Council, which once again confirms its readiness to support the Government's efforts to stabilize the country.

Whenever we have an opportunity such as this, we wish to highlight our recognition of how the Security Council has played its strategic role of maintaining international peace and security in a world where threats and urgent and complex issues require appropriate responses.

With regard to Guinea-Bissau, the Council's actions have been steady and careful, and have revealed its proper understanding of the challenges we face. That has been the basis for its effective action, which has created the environment of confidence and optimism that we are currently experiencing in our country, supported by the assistance that we have been receiving from the United Nations.

We therefore welcome United Nations efforts to promote stability and peacebuilding in Guinea-Bissau, and for that reason we pay tribute to the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS), through its Head and Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, who, with integrity and great sense of purpose, has contributed to revitalizing and strengthening national reconciliation and dialogue.

Allow me to express what an honour and privilege it is for me to participate in this meeting of the Security Council to outline the developments in Guinea-Bissau since the Council's most recent meeting on the topic (see S/PV.6569).

Over the past three years, my country has shown perseverance and determination in implementing its governmental agenda. The acceleration of structural reforms in areas critical for development has helped to normalize the social and political spheres and restore public trust. The long periods of political instability that dragged the country into a vicious circle of serious imbalances and exacted a massive toll by delaying the normal course of development, have now given way to a more favourable political context, characterized by economic recovery and the renewed confidence of internal and external partners.

Today, I can report that our people enjoy, with some sense of euphoria, the gains that governmental stability has brought to the country. That progress has enabled the country to move from a dramatic budgetary situation to a more stable position, thanks to greater control over public spending, increased tax revenues and the substantial reduction of public debt.

Despite the massive uncertainties currently prevailing in the international context, rising exports have benefited the national economy and have compensated for shrinking international aid flows. In that regard, the country's GDP growth has surpassed its historical trend of 1.8 per cent over the past 10 years and is forecasted to reach 5.3 per cent this year, compared with 3.5 per cent in 2010, in a context of moderate price stability. Those successes were based on careful and efficient economic governance, building on bold reforms and on the gradual improvement of

living conditions, thanks to the revitalization of some industries and improvements in basic infrastructure and the delivery of social services.

In the framework of implementing security and defence sector reform, it is worth highlighting the Government's efforts to set up a special pension fund. The special pension fund is a step in the process of restructuring the defence and security forces and will ensure that all members who retire from active duty for reasons of age, seniority or disability receive a fair pension.

Despite the consensus reached on the essential role of the pension fund as a key pillar of security and defence sector reform, its start-up of operations is significantly behind schedule, owing mainly to delays in the financial contributions that will constitute the fund.

Guinea-Bissau has shown its firm commitment to promptly beginning the process by adopting most of the legal instruments that frame the reforms, in accordance with the expert studies carried out in the framework of our cooperation with the European Union.

As evidence of that commitment and along the lines previously agreed and accepted by all, the Government organized the public bidding process to select the banking institution to be entrusted with management of the fund. More recently, it deposited 40 per cent of its annual contribution into the account opened in the bank selected, and made a commitment to deposit an additional $300,000 by the end of the current budget year, which will complete the target amount set for this year.

Once we receive the contributions announced by some donors, namely, the United Nations through the Peacebuilding Fund, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union (EU) and Angola, the Government is ready to offer the additional guarantees necessary to safeguard the exclusive use of the fund's resources for the purposes for which it was created. In that regard, the framework agreement signed between the Government and the bank in question provides for the signature of additional protocols to ensure that the specific financial procedures of each donor are respected.

At this stage in the process, the financial contribution of ECOWAS is contingent on the signature of a memorandum of understanding between ECOWAS, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and the Government to implement defence and security sector reforms.

As is well known, the framework of support for and follow-up to the road map is established in the memorandum, as is a set of priority actions, such as the operationalization of the pension fund. A draft memorandum of understanding is already available, and its signature will be made possible with the final decision of ECOWAS. The Government estimates that a rapid response from that institution will allow for the implementation of the decision of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS which, in March 2011, approved the special financial package to support the road map in the amount of $63 million and will have the additional merit of highlighting the role of ECOWAS in the consolidation of the process of regional integration and, in particular, in the strengthening of peace and security in Guinea-Bissau.

The conclusion of consultations with the European Union until article 96 of the Cotonou Agreement and the resulting commitments undertaken by the Government created the conditions for the resumption of EU support for security sector reform. As the Council is aware, the Government has maintained a constructive political dialogue with the European Union in a follow-up committee that meets regularly to assess the implementation of the road map that emerged from the consultations. To complete the picture of the commitments already announced for the financing of the pension fund, it is worth mentioning the contributions of the Government of Angola in the framework of our bilateral cooperation and of the Peacebuilding Fund. The Government welcomes these efforts and calls for their implementation as soon as possible.

The efforts of the Government that I have just described should be appreciated and valued by the donor community, which must show greater flexibility. One can only be healed after treatment and not the other way around. It is therefore only reasonable to ask for results after creating the conditions necessary for obtaining them. In order for the work done so far not to be seen as a handful of salt thrown into the sea, to use a popular expression, and in order for our commitments not to be reduced to mere rhetoric, we must proceed to the high-level meeting scheduled to take place later this month under the auspices of the

United Nations. The meeting, which is part of a strategy to deepen the political dialogue with the Government, should continue to receive special attention.

Indeed, it was in this conviction — which we understand is shared by our partners — that we adopted, without hesitation and often at high social and political cost, the comprehensive legislative package of reforms with a view to implementing measures to monitor the payment of wages in the public sector, including the defence and security forces, and to raise awareness of and improve communication on the goals of the reform and other elements deemed necessary to ensure its operability.

In short, we have created the conditions, once considered a major challenge, for the establishment of the special pension fund and the launch of the demobilization process. We now call for greater engagement by all in these efforts, failing which we risk undermining the significant efforts made to date and sowing doubt among the beneficiaries of the process with regard to the capacity and interest of some in successfully concluding this process.

As far as the Government is concerned, the process will begin so long as conditions are in place to cover the costs related to the payment of pensions for the first two years of the fund's operation. The launch of the fund will allow us to face many of the challenges that we have been confronted with, such as the gradual replenishment of the military command and improved training for new recruits. Together with other actions, including demobilization and reintegration into active life, security sector reform will be further energized.

The Government welcomes the adoption of the employment programme within the framework of the Peacebuilding Fund, which includes employment solutions for demobilized military personnel as well as other projects of a similar nature already under way with the support of the European Union.

The issue of impunity continues to be highlighted as one of the causes of Guinea-Bissau's fragility and as a threat to social peace. The examples that are often cited are the excessive delay in the investigation of crimes, the lack of State authority, which would indicate leadership deficits, and lack of technical and financial capacities to ensure the rule of law. The Government views these shortcomings as challenges and is therefore committed to moving forward with its programme of justice sector reform.

So far, clear results have been obtained in the rehabilitation of prisons and penal system reform, in strengthening criminal justice legislation and national capacities, and in implementing mechanisms to facilitate access to information and impartial justice. These results demonstrate the appropriateness of the choices made to strengthen the judiciary and improve its operations in accordance with full respect for democratic principles, in particular the principle of separation of powers.

The creation of the first model police station, the Offices of Information and Judiciary Support and the creation of the Judiciary Training Centre fall within this new dynamic. The promotion of professional training for judicial officers, the access of all citizens to justice and the dissemination of a new paradigm between citizens and the police are critical factors for the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law. This framework also includes measures taken to combat transnational organized crime, especially drug trafficking, terrorism and money-laundering, at the subregional level, through the West Africa Coast Initiative, and at the national level.

The strategy and the action plan to combat drugs were warmly welcomed by the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), who has just completed a working visit to Guinea-Bissau. In addition, the support provided by the representative of the Attorney-General of the United States should also be praised and enhanced so that we can take advantage of their enormous experience in this field.

With the assistance of UNODC and France, we are working on a plan to combat money-laundering that will also rely on the support of the Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa and the National Unit for the Processing of Financial Information, which has already been created in our country. There is also an ongoing programme to strengthen the channels of communication among the different agencies of the system and to enhance the sharing of information collected from different sources. INTERPOL, which now has a local office, will play a central role in this process.

The will and determination of the Government to implement these strategies is a necessary but

insufficient condition for their success. The lack of financial means and the imposition of conditionalities for their disbursement have been the main causes of delays in the process.

The interconnection in Guinea-Bissau among the political, security, justice, economic and social development dimensions is unequivocal and generally accepted by donors and local actors, as well as by national civil society institutions, all of which recognize that only in a climate of peace and political stability can the country achieve sustainable development and economic and social progress. That is why, in the recently revised and reformulated country strategy paper, defence, security and justice sector reforms were included in the first section under the title "Strengthening the rule of law and republican institutions". This axis refers to the structures and authority of the State, as well as to its ability to implement new practices of political and administrative governance in order to establish the rule of law and lasting security for the population and its property. Among the actions to be taken in this area, I note measures to improve the human rights situation and mechanisms to prevent and manage crises.

The separation of powers, the primacy of the law and the establishment of an independent and technically and culturally able judiciary are the cornerstones of the rule of law that we wish for our country. For us, that necessarily implies accelerating and stabilizing the defence and security sector reform process. Respect for democratic principles, particularly through holding free, transparent and regular elections and leaving behind the former practice of seizing power through force, completes the picture outlined above, incorporating the democratic components within the regular functioning of institutions. That will be the main guarantee of stability for our country, which will allow it to turn a corner and break the cycle of political instability that has marked it in recent years.

The other elements of the national poverty reduction strategy aim at providing responses to the characteristic challenges of the country in the area of development, where priorities and needs in the Guinean context require a more inclusive approach in which social and human needs cannot be relegated to the background. The country still has a low level of human development and faces complex and wide-ranging challenges in terms of poverty. Thus strategies, policies, programmes and actions that could significantly reduce poverty in its multiple dimensions, generate increased income and employment opportunities, and improve access to basic public services that meet basic quality standards have been envisioned over a five-year period.

As we have reiterated several times in international forums, implementation of those strategies depends on the effective support of the international community, particularly in the social sectors. To follow up those ideas, we have already started preparations to organize a donor round table next year with a view to mobilizing funds to implement the national plan to combat poverty.

The high-level meeting on defence and security sector reform scheduled for this year is part of the Government's strategy to raise awareness and mobilize resources and partnerships. We hereby renew our appreciation for everything that has been done by those who have supported us in this massive effort to raise awareness and begin implementation of the reforms. I refer to the Economic Community of West African States, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, the African Union, the European Union, and particularly to countries such as Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Portugal, Nigeria and Senegal for all they have done to ensure that the voice of Guinea-Bissau is heard around the world.

We count on the wholehearted support of the Security Council and of the entire international community, from whom we ask for engagement with Guinea-Bissau, as has already occurred with some of our partners, so that we can jointly implement the programmes that will boost the country's economic and social development and transform it into a prosperous and exemplary nation. Those are the matters I wish to highlight at this juncture.

**The President** (*spoke in Portuguese*): I thank the Minister for her statement.

(*spoke in English*)

I now give the floor to Mr. Ismael Abraão Gaspar Martins, Permanent Representative of Angola, who will also speak on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries.

**Mr. Gaspar Martins** (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; interpretation provided by the delegation*): I address the Security Council on behalf of the member

countries of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP): Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, Timor-Leste and my country, Angola, which is the current President of the Community.

I would like to pay tribute to Her Excellency Helena Embaló, Minister of Economy, Planning and Regional Integration of Guinea-Bissau.

It is with great satisfaction that we participate in this important meeting of the Security Council, which has Brazil and Portugal as non-permanent members. The meeting focuses on the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) (S/2011/655), which has been presented by our friend and Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Joseph Mutaboba.

I wish to highlight the issues related to security sector reform. Guinea-Bissau faces challenges in several areas, such as the need to subordinate military power to the civil authorities, the demobilization and reintegration of members of the armed forces and the struggle against impunity and drug trafficking. We should recognize the progress made in those areas in recent months and encourage the Government of Guinea-Bissau to intensify its efforts towards stability and development.

The security sector reform road map for Guinea-Bissau developed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the CPLP is an indispensable contribution to the response to the various challenges facing the country. As demonstrated in the recent summit in Luanda, the CPLP is committed to the effective implementation of the road map, including the operationalization of the pension fund for retired armed forces and police personnel. However, the operationalization of that fund is conditioned on the availability of financing from the other partners to the stabilization process in Guinea-Bissau.

We welcome the decision of the Government of Guinea-Bissau to deposit $200,000 into the pension fund, despite the country's known financial limitations. That deposit will be followed by another contribution of $300,000 by the end of 2011, which will create conditions for the effective establishment of the pension fund. That is an essential condition for the success of the demobilization and reintegration of the armed forces of Guinea-Bissau. In that context, the CPLP also encourages the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) to make available $3 million to accelerate establishment of the pension fund in Guinea-Bissau.

Implementation of the ECOWAS-CPLP road map will not be possible without the understanding of the international and bilateral partners with respect to the need to mobilize additional funds to contribute to the success of the process. We consider that to be an essential element in ensuring the sustainability and irreversibility of the peacebuilding and political stabilization processes in Guinea-Bissau. The lack of financial resources and sometimes the excessive politicization of the assistance required by Guinea-Bissau have been a negative influence in the dynamic of that process.

Faced with that reality, the technical, material and financial contributions made available by CPLP and ECOWAS, and bilaterally by the Republic of Angola and other CPLP members, are examples to be followed as to how the principle of solidarity and international cooperation should be applied. Each member of the CPLP has its own experiences and lessons learned with respect to peacebuilding. The CPLP considers that complementarity between the various aspects of peace and security, economic recovery, and the rule of law is fundamental in the process of political stabilization and national reconciliation.

The rule of law and the struggle against drug trafficking are some of the elements of the peacebuilding process. Therefore, international mobilization of additional resources that may contribute to the implementation of the national poverty reduction strategy cannot be put in second place. Also in this area, the PBF contribution to various socio-economic projects could serve as an example for other partners to follow.

The CPLP welcomes the visit by the delegation from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the United Nations Office for West Africa to assess the negative impact of drugs on Guinea-Bissau and the West Africa subregion. At the same time, the CPLP congratulates and supports the recent commitment of ECOWAS authorities to mobilize the West African countries in the combat against transnational organized crime. Close collaboration with the High-Level Policy Committee of the West Africa Coast Initiative (WACI) is fundamental. WACI offers a response that is appropriate to the transnational nature of drug

trafficking through the establishment of transnational crime units in the countries that join the Initiative. It is urgent that the international community supports the operationalization of those units in Guinea Bissau.

To conclude, the CPLP is convinced that the international community must remain engaged in the stabilization process in Guinea Bissau. We hope that the United Nations can continue to play a central role in that process.

**The President**: I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 11 a.m.*

United Nations S/PV.6649

# Security Council

Sixty-sixth year

*Provisional*

**6649**th meeting

Tuesday, 8 November 2011, 3 p.m.

New York

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|---|---|---|
| *President*: | Mr. Cabral | (Portugal) |
| *Members*: | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mr. Barbalić |
| | Brazil | Mrs. Dunlop |
| | China | Mr. Wang Min |
| | Colombia | Mr. Osorio |
| | France | Mr. Araud |
| | Gabon | Mr. Messone |
| | Germany | Mr. Berger |
| | India | Mr. Kumar |
| | Lebanon | Ms. Ziade |
| | Nigeria | Mr. Onowu |
| | Russian Federation | Mr. Zhukov |
| | South Africa | Mr. Sangqu |
| | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | Mr. Parham |
| | United States of America | Mr. DeLaurentis |

## Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2011/656)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-506.

11-58366 (E)

Please recycle

*The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

**Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2011/656)**

**The President**: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Roger Meece, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2011/656, which contains the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I now give the floor to Mr. Meece.

**Mr. Meece** (*spoke in French*): It is my honour once again to brief the Security Council on the current situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Allow me to thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to do so.

(*spoke in English*)

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is currently the focus of a great deal of activity in preparation for the second round of democratic elections since those successfully held in 2006. I know that Council members are well aware of the importance of those elections. I would like to reaffirm the strong determination of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and, indeed, of all members of the United Nations family in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to contribute to peaceful, free and fair democratic elections in the country, with the support of many partners.

For MONUSCO and the United Nations Development Programme in particular, we are heavily engaged in a wide variety of activities to support the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) as it oversees and directs the election process. For example, we have added 30 civilian aircraft to the MONUSCO air fleet to help distribute election materials throughout the country in accordance with the INEC logistics plan. We are providing substantial technical assistance and have helped organize and support an ongoing series of activities to promote greater dialogue among political candidates and parties, civil society and Government institutions.

I know that the Council was recently updated on many aspects of the election process, but I would wish to highlight a few observations with regard to some important election-related issues. The organizational and logistics aspects of the scheduled 28 November presidential and legislative elections are of course enormous, with more than 32 million voters in a very large country. In addition to 11 presidential candidates, 18,864 National Assembly candidates have been registered, which is nearly double the number of those running in 2006. The number of polling stations has also increased significantly to provide additional capacity and opportunity for Congolese voters, with the final list of 63,865 polling stations recently published. The November national elections are the first in an election cycle that includes very important provincial elections scheduled for March 2012, and the 2013 local elections. Local elections were not held as anticipated in the 2006 election cycle. The importance of fulfilling the full cycle this time should not be underestimated.

There is, unfortunately, a good deal of misinformation circulating regarding the Democratic Republic of the Congo's elections. In particular, as in 2006, the very sophisticated voter registration system incorporates scanned fingerprint and photo images. A check by two separate contractors of that voter database produced less than 120,000 duplicate entries — a major contrast to the hundreds of thousands erroneously spoken of in some press and other reports. That rate is on the same order as the one found in 2006, and is well within the bounds one would anticipate in a voter list of this size. In brief, let

me just state that predictions of a process that cannot produce free, fair and transparent elections are simply wrong. We are fully engaged to ensure the democratic conduct of those elections on 28 November, in accordance with the INEC calendar.

Of course, there have been, and there are, major challenges. But progress is being made. The election kits for polling stations, voting booths, training materials and related supplies have already arrived in the country, with most already transported by MONUSCO and INEC to 15 hubs and a majority of the 210 sub-hubs. Ballot boxes started to arrive on 28 October. A continuing flow of follow-on flights is occurring to ensure full delivery. Ballot papers for the presidential race are being printed in South Africa. The South African Government has generously committed to the transport of the roughly 3,000 tons of ballot papers directly to designated hubs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, greatly simplifying the subsequent distribution requirements inside the country.

Recruitment and training for the estimated 340,000 INEC agents needed for the elections is under way, as is training for the projected nearly 58,000 national observers. International observers from the European Union, the Carter Center and the Southern African Development Community are already in the country — the first deployments of what we estimate will be more than 600 accredited international observers.

I am pleased to report that generous international financial support has fulfilled to-date all financial pledges for elections support. INEC's budget overruns in the original election budget — for example, for unanticipated air transport of ballot boxes — have been covered by national authorities, with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo likely to assume roughly 75 per cent of the total election costs.

I must note one striking fact that is disappointing. Only roughly 12 per cent of National Assembly candidates are women; all of the presidential candidates are men. Women represent just under half of all the registered voters. It is clearly desirable to have greater participation by women in elected office. I believe that it is important for us all to focus on this area in the coming months and years, in partnership with Congolese Government authorities and civil society, to see how the participation of women contesting for electoral office in the future can be significantly increased.

Security issues also have been an ongoing concern. We can anticipate that election-related tensions will increase as we draw closer to the 28 November election date. There was a particularly tragic occurrence on 28 October, when two persons, including a girl, were reportedly killed in Mbuji-Maya, Eastern Kasai province, on the margins of demonstrations in the town. The Congolese police and other authorities bear the primary responsibility to manage often difficult public order situations through non-lethal means. Parties seeking to stage peaceful public demonstrations in accordance with established Congolese notification procedures must be accorded the right to do so without impediment. Indeed, it is essential that individuals and political parties are not denied their human rights and political freedoms in the pre-electoral period, which will be the focus of a report to be published on 9 November by MONUSCO and the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights.

At the same time, it is very important for candidates and political leaders and their followers to behave in a responsible manner. I am pleased to note that the Governor and opposition representatives in Eastern Kasai have had a successful meeting in the wake of the 28 October demonstration to calm tensions and provide for a peaceful campaign period. In recent days, however, there have been worrisome actions and statements that contribute to or, worse, incite increased violence or other unacceptable behaviour. I would like to reiterate our call on all Congolese leaders to do everything possible to ensure a peaceful and orderly election period, and for those parties that have still not done so to sign the code of good conduct.

I would also note that we have been actively training thousands of Congolese police in professional techniques of crowd control and public order. Observations to date of the six battalions of rapid intervention police trained by MONUSCO, as well as of two others trained by France and one by the Congolese Government, underscore the value of such training, as those units have performed well in accordance with their training. I would also note with appreciation an additional unit being trained by the South African Government specifically for candidate protection, which is also a key factor in election security. I underscore again, however, the pressing need for additional non-lethal equipment for trained

police units, which we are unable to provide under MONUSCO financing. Of the $3 million in equipment needed for the six MONUSCO-trained battalions, for example, only $500,000 has been identified to date, that being a contribution by the United States Government. Therefore, we again appeal for additional donor funding to permit an expansion of police training programmes, which is an essential component for the Democratic Republic of the Congo's long-term stability and success.

The major security concern in the country of course remains the activities of armed groups in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While to date none of those groups has shown evidence of seeking to disrupt the election process as such, their activities continue to pose a major threat to civilian populations where they operate and, on a localized basis, threaten state functions, including the conduct of the polls. The protection of civilians remains our overriding priority, and is a major focus of much of MONUSCO's overall activities.

Unfortunately, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report (S/2011/656), I believe that we — the Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo (FARDC) and MONUSCO — have lost momentum in dealing with armed groups in the east, particularly in North and South Kivu provinces. Much of this has been related to the reorganization of the FARDC into regiments, a process that has left significant gaps that have been exploited by various groups. The problem has been exacerbated by the continuing shortage of MONUSCO military helicopters, which has imposed severe limits on the nature and level of our military operations.

A net result of this problem has been the emergence or strengthening of several Congolese groups. A group identified as Mayi-Mayi Yakutumba, for example, has gained significant strength in South Kivu province, working in cooperation with the Burundian Forces nationales de libération and elements of the Forces démocratique de libération du Rwanda (FDLR). Espousing a xenophobic rhetoric that risks re-igniting serious inter-community tensions in the area, Yakutumba has increased its illegal operations on Lake Tanganyika and has grown increasingly bold in its attacks, including what appears to be a recent ethnic-based targeted killing of seven national workers from a local non-governmental organization.

We will be working closely with the FARDC, within available resources, to counter that group at the earliest opportunity. At the same time, we are supporting community leaders and others who are seeking to ensure that inter-community tensions do not escalate.

Similarly, other groups such as Rahiya Mutumboki in South Kivu, Mayi-Mayi Cheka and Mayi-Mayi Janvier or the Alliance des patriotes pour un Congo libre et souverain in North Kivu have continued or stepped up activities that threaten civilians in their local zones of operations as well. They must be addressed.

Of the foreign armed groups still present in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, despite whatever breathing space has been afforded recently, the Rwandan FDLR continues to show signs of internal divisions and relative weakness. There too, it is important to restore strong military pressure on the group, alongside judicial and disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, reintegration and resettlement efforts, to promote greater levels of repatriation and a general continued degradation of their capability.

Similarly, the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for Liberation of Uganda remains a significant threat in northern North Kivu. Council members are well aware of the ongoing and particularly brutal regional threat posed by the Lord's Resistance Army, or LRA. While current LRA intentions or plans in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are unclear, we remain committed to do everything possible within our resources to protect civilians in north-eastern Congo against their attacks and to support the broader strategies to degrade overall LRA capabilities in the region, which are key to eliminating this menace.

A major ongoing particular concern is sexual and gender-based violence in the Congo, particularly the shocking number of rapes that continue to be reported.

The activities of the armed groups in the east remain a fundamental cause. From January through September, of the documented cases of sexual-based crimes in eastern Congo, over half are attributed to armed groups, notably the FDLR, as well as various Congolese groups and the LRA. I believe that number to be underreported, as we often lack access and means to hear of or record other sexual crimes resulting from

the operations of those groups. Clearly, the elimination of the threat posed by those groups therefore remains central to improving security and reducing sexual-based violence.

Roughly 40 per cent of the documented cases in the same time frame can be attributed to elements of the national army; of those, a majority is associated with so-called integrated elements, including the Congrès national pour la défence du peuple and other former armed groups. Those units are ostensibly integrated into the FARDC but often are not fully responsive to command authority, if at all. They represent a significant problem in several respects.

I believe that that integration model needs review and revision, since integrating armed elements without the benefit of adequate training, screening and alternative programmes has, in my view, produced unsatisfactory results. We will be fully prepared to support such a review. I believe it is key to successful future FARDC performance and reforms.

Despite the extent of the problems, some significant progress has been achieved, particularly in the fight against impunity.

Although only a few court cases have received press attention, in 2011, through 31 August, we have supported a total of 140 military trial prosecutions against FARDC and police, as well as two FDLR and one Mayi-Mayi Yakutumba combatants. Sentences for sexual violence were handed down to 111 elements, with additional convictions for 141 counts of human rights violations. We are committed to continuing our efforts to provide support to strengthening the judicial system, including support to prosecution cells and other activities to encourage and realize further prosecutions.

Encouragingly, for example, we have reports that the North Kivu Military Prosecutor has now assembled sufficient evidence to proceed with the prosecution of former Mayi-Mayi Cheka leader Colonel Mayele, who is in custody, and of Cheka himself, who remains at large. More is needed, of course, but at least we are seeing a positive trend in prosecutions

I must, however, also note one significant aspect of sexual-based crimes that still receives relatively little attention. A recent study financed by the British Embassy in Kinshasa found that in 2010, 653 prosecutions involving sexual-based crimes were initiated in Kinshasa. Of those, 623 were brought in civilian courts by a relatively weak civilian prosecution and court system receiving little external assistance or support. Over a third of those cases resulted in convictions. In another area involving a recent large-scale escape of 967 prisoners from a Katanga prison, our analysis has indicated that some 25 per cent of the escaped prisoners were serving sentences associated with sexual-based crimes. Anecdotal information would suggest that such figures are representative of other parts of the country as well.

I draw two major observations from those reports. First, it is clear that there is in fact a broader problem of sexual- and gender-based crime, well above levels historically associated with the region prior to the years of conflict. Secondly, it is also clear that Congolese institutions are significantly engaged in this battle against impunity, despite severe resource and other constraints, and with limited external support.

One conclusion is obvious. We can and should do more, and I would strongly encourage greater attention and involvement of all partners in this under-reported and under-studied area.

Before concluding, let me also emphasize that we remain strongly engaged in the stabilization agenda to support the strengthening of State capacity and to establish the conditions needed for long-term stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. President Kabila, in his address in September to the General Assembly (see A/66/PV.16) encouraged a greater emphasis on peacebuilding and development efforts. I would certainly endorse that sentiment. The stabilization and reconstruction programme in the east has succeeded in mobilizing over $243 million thus far in infrastructure and other development projects for the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Our Stabilization Support Unit is indicating very promising advance commitments for the next phase of programmes. That represents encouraging results and engagement, but more is needed.

In addition, we have moved forward with Government authorities and partners to establish and define a peace consolidation programme for the area of the country not included in the existing stabilization and reconstruction framework. That has been developed in full consultation with Government authorities and international partners. We hope it will be adopted at the earliest time possible and that it will

help guide development programmes to address major and urgent issues present in many areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Indeed, we hope the programme may help mobilize additional resources to implement programmes addressing those needs, which are not yet being adequately addressed.

(*spoke in French*)

In conclusion, I wish to express yet again my gratitude to the members of the Council and to the international community as a whole for their ongoing support, which is so valuable to us in carrying out our mandate. The problems we confront do not, for the most part, have short-term solutions. Therefore we need the Council's consistent commitment and continuing support. That support is essential for the Congolese people and for the region.

I would also like to reiterate my gratitude and thanks to the many members of the staff of MONUSCO and of the agencies for their major contribution and their laudable commitment.

There have been significant developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since the years when the country was in the throes of war. That is clearly thanks to the Council's support and to combined efforts that we can genuinely continue to move towards reaching our common objectives.

(*spoke in English*)

I thank members for their support and attention.

**The President**: I thank Mr. Meece for his briefing.

(*spoke in French*)

I now give the floor to the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Ileka** (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Allow me first of all to discharge a pleasant duty and to express my great pleasure at seeing you, Mr. President, preside over the Security Council. Indeed, Portugal, your country, has close and centuries-old links with the political and cultural area to which my country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, belongs — old and close ties, as I said, in particular with the kingdom that gave its name to two countries in the Central African subregion, that is, both Congos — Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshasa.

In the same vein, I would like to acknowledge all the merits of your predecessor, the representative of Nigeria, and thank her for her excellent presidency of the Security Council last month and to say to her that all Africa was proud during Nigeria's presidency.

I would also like to thank Ambassador Roger Meece, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for the report that he has just presented, which lays out the current situation in my country (S/2011/656). I am grateful to him for the excellent reports that he regularly presents to the Council. Indeed, Ambassador Meece has described the situation in my country. The Democratic Republic of the Congo greatly appreciates his conclusions and recommendations and hopes that the Security Council will support Ambassador Meece and give his report the appropriate follow-up.

The Ambassador has also described the state of preparations for the elections. I dare to think that, with the expertise of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and with the assistance provided to it by the Government, the United Nations, multilateral and bilateral partners and the various non-governmental organizations, the INEC will be up to the task and will not miss its historic rendezvous with history in 20 days' time.

In general, and all things being equal, I can affirm, if I am not mistaken, that within the same timeframe, the electoral campaign of this year 2011 is much calmer than that of 2005-2006. It is true that tensions exist between certain candidates for the National Assembly. For example, in Kindu recently, the offices of two candidates, both claiming the presidential majority, were burned by respective supporters. Likewise, there have been tensions in Kinshasa, Katanga province and Kasaï Province, more precisely in Mbuji-Mayi, where a 13-year-old girl was killed at home, in her house, by a stray bullet after a police officer had shot in the air to disperse demonstrators. In that case, the perpetrator of the shot was arrested and an investigation of his superiors was opened.

Moreover, both provincial and national authorities are sparing no effort in urging militants of the various parties to act with further restraint, not to turn to violence and to encourage political actors to engage in responsible speech. It is important that each and every candidate understand that the elections are

not an end in themselves, but a step towards consolidating the young Congolese democracy.

Some acts, such as the affair of the stealth airplane in Kisangani, could recall tragedies of King Ubu and make one smile, but words that are completely out of place, calls to insurrection and incitement to hatred and violence should be completely banned from all discourse. It is in that sense that the precautionary step taken by the Government last Sunday to cut a media signal in Kinshasa must be understood. Moreover, that same channel was suspended this very morning by the Audio-Visual and Communications High Council, as the spectre of Rwanda and its thousand hills is not far away. Unfortunately, it seems to remain alive in certain Congolese politicians.

In order to maintain calm and civil peace in my country, it is important that the Security Council and the international community condemn that kind of agitation and its reprehensible words with the greatest energy. Not to condemn and not to convey to all the appropriate messages of peace and decency will be interpreted by extremists of all sides as a license to set in motion the spiral of violence.

Far from trying to be alarmist, I believe that when we see the first signs and harbingers of a crisis that could escalate, it is better to prevent it than to remedy it later. We must act quickly so that each and every person does not doubt the will of the Government and its multilateral and bilateral partners to resolutely take to its end, without disastrous procrastination, the electoral process that will shape the Congo of tomorrow.

**The President**: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussions on the subject.

*The meeting rose at 3.40 p.m.*